

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Dark Matter:

Towards an Architectonics of Rock, Place, and Identity

in Brasília's Utopian Underground

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Ethnomusicology

by

Jesse Samuel Wheeler


2007

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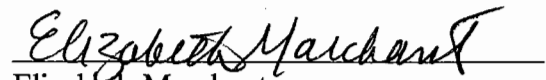
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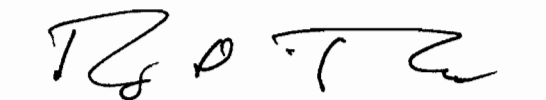
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Dedication

To no one in particular.

To all: heretics, pariahs, blasphemers, anarchists, and utopians; the rebellious, the reachers, and the risers who defy the stifling entropy of thought, asking “why?” and “what else?”; who resist the crush of dogma’s inert crust and dare to err; who, with vital inklings of *there’s more*, strain teething toward the horizon.

To punks everywhere.

Table of Contents

List of Maps, Figures, and Tables	vi
Acknowledgments	vii
Vita	xiii
Abstract	xvii
Prologue	1
Cast of Characters	6
1. Introduction	10
The Field	15
I hear, ergo I am (here): Place, Music, Meaning, and Identity	25
Dark Matter	51
2. BSB DIY	64
Brasília: A Brief	66
Capital of Hope	76
<i>Brasília as Modernist Utopia</i>	86
<i>The Socio-Spatial Homology</i>	89
Capital of Rock	101
Capital of Inequality, Inequality of Capital: The Socio-Spatial Homology	119
Genres	121
3. Architectonics 1: Place as Purpose	129
Rock's Refrains 1: "We were bored, so we rocked"	132
Rock's Refrains 2: Rock as Resistance	140
Rock's Refrains 3: Brasília as a "Tower of Babel" / "Melting Pot"	151
Economic Impact of Place as Purpose	161
Vignette 1: F*** the USA: Cosmopolitanism's Furious Face	172
4. Architectonics 2: Place as Shape	193
Rock's Refrains 4: Rock and an architecture "frigid and sterile"	194
Rock's Refrains 5: "Não tem espaço"—"There's no space"	208
<i>Brasília's Urban Plan: A Tale of Two Scenes</i>	223
<i>Tribos—"Tribes"</i>	228
Rock's Refrains 6: "É uma panela fechada"—the "closed pot"	233
Vignette 2: A Crisis in Place	245

5. Architectonics 3: Place as Presence: Dark Matter	286
Dark Matter: Aesthetics	287
<i>The Aural Aesthetic</i>	292
Dark Matter: Society	304
<i>Social Action</i>	319
Dark Matter: Emotion	330
Vignette 3: Up from the underground to national renown: The Porão do Rock	345
6. Conclusion	358
Music as a Witness to Place	358
Universalizing Utopia	368
“We Were Never So Brazilian”: Towards a New Subject	370
<i>Rock in Brasiliense Identity: The I in We</i>	376
<i>Brasília in Brazilian Identity: The We in Us</i>	384
Epilogue	386
Appendix 1: Musical Examples	387
Appendix 2: Transcriptions	388
Appendix 3: Photographs	397
Works Cited	402

List of Maps, Figures and Tables

1. Political map of Brazil	3
2. Map of Federal District	4
3. Satellite image of Brasília, Pilot Plan	5
4. Map of Brasília, Pilot Plan and nearby satellite cities	5
5. Figure 1: Homologies	91
6. Tables 1-6	94-98

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J.S.W., Brasília, May ‘07.

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PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

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- _____. 2003. "Em busca de narrativas musicais de brasilidade," an invited lecture delivered at the Center for Philosophy and the Human Sciences, Federal University of Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, Brazil.
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- _____. 2006. "Of Griots, Gurus, and Guitars: Memory and Tribute in Brazilian Rock," a paper presented at the annual meeting for the Midwest Chapter of the Society for Ethnomusicology in Columbus, OH. Recipient of 2006 JaFran Jones Award.
- _____. 2006. "I hear *ergo* I am (here): Place, Rock and Identity in Brasília, Brazil," a paper presented at the annual international meeting for the Society for Ethnomusicology in Honolulu, HI.
- _____. 2006. "A ética de lugar: o cosmopolitismo no rock de Brasília," a paper presented at the bi-annual international meeting for the Associação Brasileira de Etnomusicologia in São Paulo, Brazil.
- _____. 2006. "Aspects of the Brazilian Music Industry," an invited lecture delivered at the Department of Ethnomusicology, UCLA.
- _____. 2006. "A ética de onde: rock, lugar e representação (de si e dos outros)," an invited colloquium delivered at the Department of Sociology, University of Brasília, Brazil.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Dark Matter:
Towards an Architectonics of Rock, Place, and Identity
in Brasília's Utopian Underground

by

Jesse Samuel Wheeler

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnomusicology

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Professor Anthony Seeger, Chair

This dissertation investigates relationships between rock music and the concept of place in Brasília, Brazil. From Saint Dom Bosco's prophetic vision in 1883 of a land of "milk and honey" to Lucio Costa's modernist and functionalist ideal of the perfect urban plan and architect Oscar Niemeyer's communist aims, Brasília has been the focus of utopian desires. Designed as an administrative capital and inaugurated in 1960, Brasília was invested with hopes for the consolidation of the Brazilian nation. Though located in

Brazil's historically undeveloped interior, it has become perhaps the most cosmopolitan of the country's cities, drawing diplomats, educators, professionals, artists, and laborers from around Brazil and the world. It has also reproduced traditional socioeconomic inequalities, and its layout represents a physical testament to exclusion and discrimination.

Brasília's inhabitants have experienced both shame and pride in living in a city without the traits of emblematically Brazilian cities like Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Salvador. Brasília's traditions are still in the process of consolidation, and its identity is being forged for the first time. Its rock music production in the 1980s gained Brasília the title "Capital of Rock," and rock has played a central role in the search for and expression of a place-based identity in Brasília. Yet just as the Brasília experience does not figure into narratives of *brasilidade* (Brazilian-ness), rock has not been regarded as authentically Brazilian. In a nation where music is arguably the most potent producer of culture, this invisibility has deep implications.

With the current underground rock scene in Brasília as my focus, I parse the concept of place into elements that can be analyzed to understand what gives a place its identity and then trace ways rock has been influenced by Brasília and ways rock musicians have contributed to making Brasília the place it is. Using the metaphor of dark matter, I argue that rockers are carrying out utopian work, that rock has opened a space for a subject position not traditionally celebrated in the Brazilian imaginary, and that Brasília should have a place in narratives of *brasilidade*. The accompanying CD is available through the UCLA Music Library and at <http://tinyurl.com/ywe6j2>.

Prologue

And then there was sound-----

Was the Big Bang *silent*?

If so, why don't we call it the *Big Flash*?

Because we think in sound. We hear with our inner ear that which our inner eye envisions. Language, even visual, written, is heard, spoken. Writing is an attempt to capture sound and fix it in sign. *But sound is defiant*: The written must be spoken, the notated musicked. Its energy is released to be heard anew.

"Oh God, I am on the brink of frightful speech" –Herdsman, Œdipus Rex, Sophocles

"The written word is a lie!" –"Rise," Public Image Ltd.

This is a meditation on sounds, themselves meditations on a variety of issues. The sounds herein discussed are discourses on some of the deepest issues their makers face, such as "Who am I?" "Where am I?" and "Why do I do what I do?" These sounds are musicked and spoken and rarely, if ever, transcribed/translated/notated. Therein lies one reason for their power. The sonicked message has an indisputable immediacy all its own: that of *presence*—the presence of the sound-maker and the present-ness of the message. The horror of the herdsman came not so much from seeing, but from having to utter what he saw. Orality is energy.

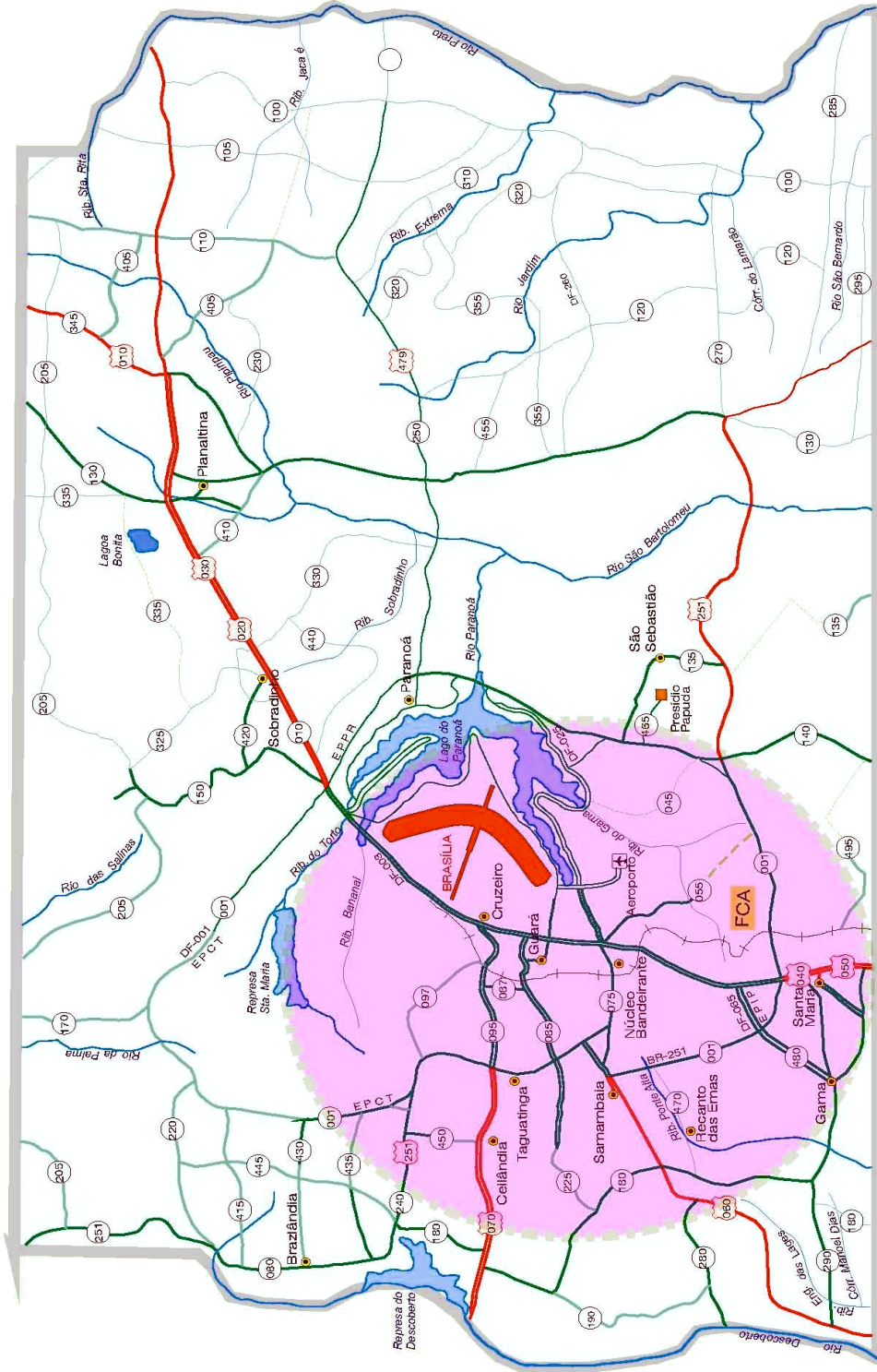
The spoken word, like sonicked music (as opposed to the written word and notated music), is imbued with emotion, infused with non-semantic energy, immaterial material for reflection and reaction. The line “Anger is an energy” from the same PiL song cited above relates to one of the wider themes of this dissertation: the central importance of emotion in music, not only as experienced through and upon hearing, but also as a gravitational field giving cohesiveness and energy to a music community.

Had any ear existed to hear it, the Big Bang would have produced sound. Experiments have recreated it.¹ Rock bands create miniature Big Bangs every time an amplifier is switched on and a new universe of meaningful sound and gesture is born. This is the story of one community of rock musicians and fans who challenge a system that seeks to silence their unwanted sound.

¹ See “The Sound of the Big Bang,” <http://faculty.washington.edu/jcramer/BBSound.html>.



Figure 1: Political map of Brazil (1994). Source: University of Texas Library.



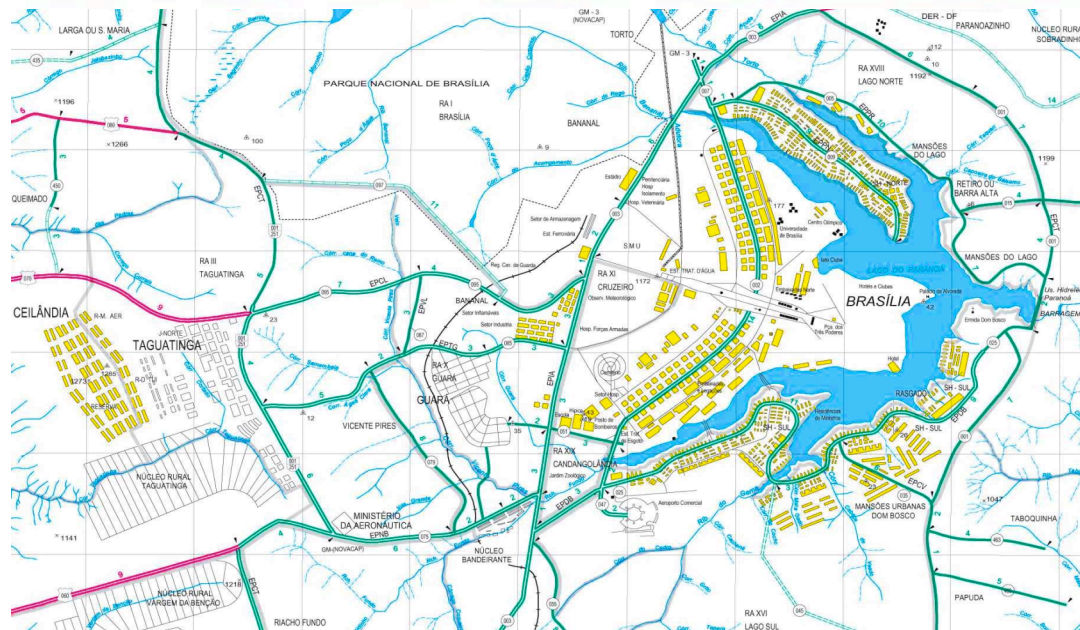


Figure 3 (top): Satellite image of the Pilot Plan of Brasília. Source: Google Maps.

Figure 4 (bottom): Map of the Pilot Plan and nearby satellite cities. Source: CODEPLAN.

Cast of Characters

The individuals interviewed who appear throughout the dissertation come from different walks of life, are of different ages, and live in different places. What linked them all was the rock scene in Brasília. The list below will serve as an index for names cited, some of which are pseudonyms, stage names, or a combination of real name and nickname, and for the principle bands with which I worked, or that appear as important references in the text. The bands that appear prominently in the text are in **bold**.

Alessandra Tavares: 30 years old. Guitarist of the female death metal quintet **Valhalla** (see track 14 of the CD). Biology student. Resident of Guar.

Alex “Podro”: 30-40 years old, vocalist with punk **Detrito Federal**, and defunct metal BSB-H. Teacher. Resident of Guar.

Alexandra Capone: 30-40 years old. Singer and music activist. Brother of late producer and Grammy winner Tom Capone.

li Avelino: 27 years old, drummer for alt rock **Peixa** (see track 9 of the CD) and Poptose. Public servant. resident of North Wing.

Alice Nina: 24 years old, drummer for hardcore **<silente>** (see track 12 of the CD). Student of Philosophy. Resident of Cruzeiro.

Alrio Netto: 31 years old, singer for progressive metal **Khallice** (see track 5 of the CD). Works as voice teacher. Resident of Southwest.

Batan: 29 years old. Guitarist and vocalist for alternative bands **Peixa** and Poptose.

Biologist. Resident of Guará.

Carmen Manfredini and Dona Carminha: sister and mother, respectively, of late Renato

Russo of **Legião Urbana**. Residents of South Wing.

Carolina Diniz. 25 years old. Singer, ex-**Pœna** (see track 10 of the CD). Historian, layout

designer. Resident of North Wing.

Celso Salim: 28 years old. Guitarist and singer for blues-rock Celso Salim Band. Lives in

São Paulo.

Fê Lemos: 44 years old. Drummer for **Capital Inicial** and defunct **Aborto Elétrico**.

Resident of São Paulo.

Filipe CDR: 16 years old. Guitarist for punk band Antirepressão. Resident of Gama.

Fellipe CDC (Fellipe José Sallis de Sant'anna): 35 years old. Leader and vocalist for

hardcore **Terror Revolucionário** (see track 13 of the CD) and **Death Slam**.

Public servant. Resident of Taguatinga.

Flávio Lemos: 40+ years old. Bassist for **Capital Inicial** and defunct **Aborto Elétrico**.

Resident of São Paulo.

Gilmar Santos: 42 years old, vocalist for **ARD** and bassist for **X-GRANITO** (see track

17 of the CD). Vertical technician, student of Brazilian literature, and coordinator

of Junior Achievement's Gama branch. Resident of Gama.

Gregório Salles: 26 years old. Vocalist for hardcore **Deceivers** (see track 3 of the CD).

Consultant for German industrial graphics company. Resident of North Lake.

Gustavo Vasconcelos: 40-50 years old. Head of Brasília-based record label GRV.

Drummer for defunct punk rock band Elite Sofisticada. Resident of South Lake.

João Meia-Boca: 30-40 years old. Guitarist for **Meia-boca band**. Fireman. Resident of Taguatinga.

Jeferson Ayres Cunha: 30-40 years old. Drummer for **Terror Revolucionário** and defunct Mayombe. Public servant. Resident of Taguatinga.

Jôsefer Ayres Cunha: 20-30 years old. Drummer for Phrenesy. Resident of Taguatinga.

Juliano Lopes: 26 years old, drummer for punk/hardcore **ARD** (see tracks 1 and 16 of the CD), D-beat **Besthöven** (see track 2), hardcore Murro no Olho, and thrashcore **Death Slam**. Legal assistant. Resident of Taguatinga.

M. Patrick “Papi”: 27 years old. Guitarist for **Peixa**. Investigator for Civil Police. Resident of Unaí, Minas Gerais.

Marcelo Carvalho de Oliveira: 40-50 years old. Guitarist with defunct Banda 69.

Musician, composer, recording engineer. Resident of South Wing.

Michelle Godinho: 29 years old. Vocalist for **Valhalla**. Owner of Denail rock shop. Resident of Candangolândia.

Paulo Cesar “Cascão”: 40 years old. Ex-drummer for **Detrito Federal**. Lawyer. Resident of South Lake.

Paulo Mattos: 43 years old. Multi-instrumentalist for hardcore **Quebraqueixo** (see track 11 of the CD) and defunct folk-rock Mel da Terra. Musician and producer of cultural events. Resident of South Lake.

Phú do Guarά: 34 years old. Bassist of hardcore **Macakongs 2099** (see track 8 of the CD). Owner of Sílvia Music, a local underground label, and stage director/producer of music events. Resident of Guarά.

Porão do Rock: a collective interview with members of NGO Porão do Rock.

Roca: 27 years old. Guitarist with alt-rock band **Peixa**. Ph.D. Student. Lives in Cornwall, UK.

Ronan: 38 years old. Head of Mosh Productions. Vocalist of defunct metal band P.U.S. Resident of Southwest.

Rubens: 40-50 years old. Owner of Gate's Pub.

Takeda: 29 years old. Bassist and guitarist for alternative rock band **Peixa**. Architect. Resident of Guarά.

Teresa: 26 years old. Bassist of <**silente**>. Student of Letters. Resident of North Wing.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Music in Brazil is *so potent*. From what one reads in newspapers or hears in speeches, interviews, and debates, it often seems that the nation's self-esteem rides on music. Music answers the question of what it means to be Brazilian, even for many foreigners. It is an exit from the recesses of a long-standing inferiority complex vis-à-vis the US and Europe and a bridge over the murky strait separating tradition from modernity. Musicians are not the only ones who think these things: a 2005 poll showed that in all regions and across all ages and economic classes, Brazilians are most proud of their music.²

Brazil is a country where this kind of factoid is relevant to the well being of the nation, because it is a nation racked by self-doubt. On the one hand "God is Brazilian," as a popular saying goes; however, here on Earth Brazilians are not as happy as they would like everyone, including one another, to believe. It is as if they feel they *should* be happier, or that greatness has somehow managed to elude the country. Whether it is countries like the US who keep Brazil down, or an in-house oligarchical system that sanctions crookery of the cruelest, most callous kind, the country has not achieved its anticipated potential. Perhaps the images of 1950s Rio de Janeiro, immortalized in *bossa nova*, gave people the feeling that life would be easier. Brasília itself is a monument to a

² "O Umbigo Nacional", Listening Post, Agência Ogilvy, São Paulo.

generation's pride, confidence, and optimism. But decades of inflation, military dictatorship, and widening economic disparity have left indelible marks on the national spirit. Political banditry, the endless crises of corruption at the highest levels of government, unstopped violence, organized crime, police brutality, urban squalor, poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and the apparent abdication of ethics everywhere frustrate, sadden, anger, and deject Brazilians all across the country.

Football (soccer), *samba*, *carnaval*, and the Beautiful Brazilian Woman act as antidotes to a national malaise assuaged in part by the thought that the rest of the world admires Brazil and would rather be Brazilian. I was routinely asked, "Don't you just love it here?" and "You want to stay here, don't you?" Or, I was simply informed, "You're going to end up staying here, I know it." The highest praise possible seemed to be that I was "more Brazilian" than other Americans or foreigners in general, even some self-effacing Brazilians. This pride, I now know, is cultivated nationally, a part of Brazilian socialization. Indeed, I will go so far as to say that affirming one's Brazilianness, on its most common level, is often felt as a duty to the nation. Americans certainly know something about patriotism, flag-waving, and jingoism (Brazilians have told me they admire this in us). But I have never seen an American in a restaurant singing solemnly and lovingly, hand on heart, the Star-Spangled Banner to the rest of the table. Brazilians, on the other hand, believe their national anthem is the most beautiful of all—naturally it ought to be sung. Celebrities residing abroad will without fail state that, no matter how glamorous their life may seem—strutting down catwalks in Paris, reporting from Wall

Street, or shooting goals for Real Madrid—they really miss home, especially their beans and rice. Composer and singer Ivan Lins, in the 2006 forum Brazilian Music in Debate held in the House of Representatives, blasted the dearth of state support for music, the lack of respect given to musicians, and the utter absence of musical education in public schools. He concluded his diatribe by saying, “I am Brazilian. I will love my country desperately until the day I die. We have seen time and again that we are one of the most creative peoples in the world.” These vainglorious affirmations and declarations of love for country are the chorus to the complaint-filled verses of a national antiphon.

Lins also stated that in recent years it could be perceived that the Brazilian self-esteem had experienced a moderate lift, for which many credit music. Singer Fernanda Abreu, ex-Blitz (one of Brazil’s early rock bands), followed Lins by saying that music had “always been a mirror,” helping answer the question “what does it mean to be Brazilian?” Referring to the debates about energy dependency, she stated that Brazil was “self-sufficient” musically, something that not many countries could claim. Lula Vieira, a publicity agent, read from the results of new research that revealed that music was seen by people as the “maximum expression of *brasilidade*” (Brazilianness). Juca Ferreira of the Department of Culture argued that state support for music was crucial. As it had the deepest penetration of any cultural form into the lives of Brazilians, it must be treated as an economy.³ Finally, Ivo Meirelles, founder of Funk ‘n’ Lata (a *favela*-based percussion

³ Ferreira cited figures stating that the average book had a run of 5,000 copies; that 93% of municipalities did not have a movie house; that 20% of Brazilians did not go at all to the movies, and that only 2-3% went regularly; and that throughout the country there were more than 100,000 grassroots organizations who without state funding used culture as a means of teaching citizenship.

group that seeks to keep kids out of crime), asked the crowd of mostly musicians, professionals and politicians, if they had been mugged, jumped, or held up. The criminal, he opined, could be seen as a “potential musician.”

Music in Brazil reaches into the heart of many of society’s most pressing issues, such as citizenship, national identity, individual pride, crime, education, political representation, economic well being, community stability, social inclusion, public heritage, and international relations. In many ways, it is the ideal demonstration of the importance and relevance of ethnomusicology as a social science.

* * * * *

This dissertation is the outcome of two years of ethnographic research into rock music in Brasília, Brazil. The research has been an inquiry into the importance of place in music and the relationships between place, music, and meaning. In the first section of this introductory chapter, I outline the central argument. In the following section I present the field, discussing its construction and my methodology. In subsequent sections I introduce the ideas of place, meaning in rock, and identity, including the discourse of *brasilidade*. Finally, I position this study in conversations with others, and offer a chapter outline to orient the reader.

My thesis is that place and music are constructively connected. Music is in place, and place in music. Brasília’s construction and settlement, beginning with the ideology of its design and continuing through the present, created social, political, economic, and

micro-cultural conditions that youth have responded to in rock music. Rock was, and for many still is, an ideal forum for their engaging with place, due to the histories and developmental trajectories of both the musical style and the city. Performance practices and musical conventions allude to real social relations. Likewise, aspects of the urban environment have undergone change in response to the performance of rock music.

Rock opened a space for the construction of a subject category that discoursed with the city: that of the individualized subject, individuated yet connected, affiliated but autonomous. This subject category is not traditionally valued in Brazilian society, nor is rock a musical style historically given the same structural support as styles thought to be more Brazilian. In order for rock to thrive (or merely survive) in Brasília, the community has had to construct and operate a musical economy parallel to the official music industry. This economy turns not on profit and loss, but on relationships. Its currency is emotional, not monetary. This is the story of that community.

I make several suggestions in the course of the dissertation: First, that real—not imputed, imaginary, or abstract—relationships between music and environment have consequences for both and can be heard and seen; second, that the rock underground is keeping the utopian vision of the city’s founders alive, albeit through different ways and means; and third, that rock in Brasília is a candidate for a narrative of Brasiliense⁴ identity and a contributing component to Brazilian identity, to *brasilidade*, alongside the dominant voices of samba carioca in Rio de Janeiro and Afro-Brazilian musical culture in Bahia. Within Brasília the meaning of being Brasiliense and the themes of pride, dreams, and reality are constantly debated; across Brazil the issue is often whether the new capital, an unprecedented experiment in social change, has been a success. Many argue that it

⁴ Brasiliense means “of Brasília.”

“redeemed” the nation, giving it a feeling of “nationality and identity.” Few doubt that this city “of contradictions . . . passions and dejection” has changed the face of the country (Maia 2005).⁵ Its place among narratives is overdue.



Photo 1: A billboard reads “THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS BILLBOARD IS ENORMOUS. AS LARGE AS THE TRADITION OF ROCK IN BRASÍLIA.”

The field

Brasília was envisioned as a model of civilization, the modernist version of utopia. French architect Le Corbusier offered to design the city, but then-president Juscelino Kubitschek did not want a foreigner involved on that level (Cavalcanti 2002: 92). After its inauguration in 1960, Kubitschek said, “One can say in all certainty that

⁵ “Cidade de contradições, Brasília desperta paixões e desconsolo. E poucos haverão de discordar do fato de que Brasília tem um sentido de redenção nacional. A nova capital federal deu ao Brasil uma consciência de nacionalidade e identidade.”

Brazil only became an adult after the construction of Brasília” (Kubitschek 1975: 11). In 1987 UNESCO declared Brasília part of all humanity’s heritage. From the beginning a supranational tension existed—Brasília belonged to Brazil, yet it was for the world. This tension manifested itself in the lifestyles of the city’s diplomats, whose children often received schooling in other countries, like the UK and USA, from where they sent rock n’ roll tapes back home to their friends (Marchetti 2001: 15).

A second tension arises when we consider its conception as a utopia. In the words of anthropologist James Holston, “[a]lthough Brasília was conceived to create one kind of society, it was necessarily built and inhabited by another—by the rest of Brazil the former denied” (Holston 1989: 23). He goes on to describe inhabitants’ rejection of certain aspects of the urban design they considered unacceptable—such as the doing away of the street—as well as the trauma that resulted from having to cope with a city without a past, one that seemed to negate tradition and require its people to reinvent themselves. My own experiences in Brasília demonstrated that living conditions, psychological formations, and artistic expression are linked.

In Brasília—built as government seat, power throne, nucleus of the former dictatorship, museum of repression’s material and symbolic artifacts—music is a site on the political margins, but at the center of the social map. Most all of Brazil’s regional musical styles can be found in Brasília, with rock, *chorinho*, *forró*, MPB, instrumental music, *pagode*, symphonic music, and *axé* music the most frequently heard styles performed in the Plano Piloto (“Pilot Plan”). Bigger Brazilian acts, such as Lenine,

Djavan, and Zeca Baleiro frequent the city, and international acts have increasingly done so, too. B.B. King, for instance, played a sold-out show in 2004. Surveying a variety of venues, one will encounter in the audience people of most all ages and economic classes.

Music is a site where the body politic and politicians confront each other. During *Carnaval 2000*, after the *maracatu* bloc I played with was shut down by the police, due to then-governor Roriz's prohibition of live music after 11 p.m. in public places even during *carnaval*, the crowd erupted in spontaneous shouts of "Roriz! Filho da puta [son of a bitch]! Roriz! Filho da puta!" The spatial configuration of the city's plan, designed to optimize government functioning and to house bureaucrats and their servants, and UNESCO's subsequent limitation on development beyond the original plan circumscribe physical space and hinder its social usage beyond what was originally envisioned and intended. Musicians regularly complain about the lack of suitable spaces for rehearsing and performing. The difficulties of living in Brasília are legion. How the physical environment plays out in musical expression and how musical activity confronts the physical environment are at issue.

Rock is widely regarded as Brasília's chief contribution to the national music scene, being the home of groups like Legião Urbana, Capital Inicial, and Os Raimundos, before they moved to the big cities to be at the center of the music industry. The city also supplies many successful bands around the country with musicians. Rock, like any other genre, yields rich information when adequately interrogated. *Rock brasileiro* (also "*rock nacional*") may be one of the richer sources of narratives of identity, given its status as a

transnational language that in the imaginary of rockers all over the world links them as subjects with a vast group of other subjects. At the same time, rockers in Brasília have developed their own styles. But rock, by most, is rarely considered Brazilian.

Pervasive anti-Brasília and anti-rock opinions led me to consider the merits of this research. Brazilians, and most foreigners I have encountered, do not think of Brasília as being where Brazilian music is from. Philippe Seabra, who helped start one of the city's seminal punk bands in the 1980s, the nationally successful Plebe Rude, remarked upon hearing of my research plans, "Why are you studying music here? Go to the Northeast, where the music is from." The subtext is that rock may be from Brasília, but real Brazilian music is not. Another colleague, also a musician, repeatedly encouraged me to go to Rio de Janeiro to live rather than stay in Brasília (his home), as it would have provided me with a much more "Brazilian" experience. These biases against the city and its rock music, reflected in the dearth of scholarship on Brasiliense culture and Brazilian rock, indicate that people, on some level, regard neither rock as a possible expression of local or national identity, nor Brasília as representative of Brazil.

Defining the field

Place morphs, as does the person. Kaleidoscopes: Brasília and I turned together. I began thinking about Brasília as the Pilot Plan, the part UNESCO has consecrated, and about rock as the 1980s bands from the Pilot Plan, those that gave the city its reputation as "Capital of Rock." Once there the field experienced topographical modifications, as I

moved beyond the Pilot Plan, incorporating south-lying satellite cities Gama, Ceilândia, Taguatinga and Guará into the field (while finding Cruzeiro and Octogonal underrepresented and all north-lying satellite cities left out). The soundscape stretched, uncoiled, warped, and withdrew, as I attuned my ears to hardcore, grindcore, metalcore, thrashcore, thrash metal, “prog” metal, death metal, black metal (yet ignored white metal, pop rock, samba rock, reggae, hip-hop, techno). “Brasília” as field grew temporal frontiers—1955 to 2007—yet “rock in Brasília” as field grew others—the 60s and 70s were prehistory, the 80s the Belle Époque, the 90s yesteryear, and the third millennium the site of my field, my field *emplaced*.

Sound, space, time: these were the elements that most constituted my field, an impossibly heteroglot construct, always threatening to destruct and disintegrate. Once adequately articulated and stabilized, I was able turn part of my attention to sensing my “social body” at work, in place (Clifford 1997: 69).

The ethnographer defined: I = here + i

It seems that the ethnographer undergoes as much definition as the field. The “I” of the ethnographer can perhaps be conceived of as a sum of the incomplete entity of the arriving, as-of-yet free-floating, unemplaced researcher (not yet, properly speaking, the ethnographer) and the field. The “i” of the potential ethnographer is consummated by the field.

I arrived in Brasília for the first time on November 8, 1999, at the invitation of two anthropologists at the Universidade de Brasília (UnB), though I spoke no Portuguese and had never been to Brazil. When I returned to Brasília on a Fulbright-Hays four and a half years later for doctoral dissertation research, I had been back for short stints and long stays many times. When I settled in for fieldwork, I had a community of colleagues and friends and a second family already established. These *laços afetivos*, affective ties, ameliorated the transitional difficulties and discomforts. They also influenced the initial constitution of my social circle.

My working on a Ph.D. endowed me with authority and integrity, while the discovery of the subject of my study provoked gaping mouths and arched eyebrows. Many told me with pleased astonishment how mellifluent my Portuguese was for someone of my language group. The awkwardness with which I addressed new people and occasional verbal implosions (e.g., asking a woman if she was “a prostitute” instead of merely “upset”) were, at the same time, discarded as the futilities of a foreigner. My expertise was in most cases more attributed than merited: I do not have the imagined knowledge of either the blues or punk songbooks, though I was the only ethnomusicologist on the block. I possessed a certain amount of aesthetic capital (even if its conversion to real money was difficult) —my mohawk was well received in the rock circle and helped me land a spot in a short film. It also made me popular with young children, though was a liability elsewhere: I sometimes had to put up with ridicule by young men I encountered on the street.

Authenticity did not come up as an issue within my research, but did in my own relationship to the field. I possessed the inalienable symbolic capital of the native English speaker—and one with an accent locally coded as authentic. This parlayed into odd opportunities, like recording jingles for a radio station in Malta, doing character voices for a didactic English manual, and being invited to rap for Black Machine, a cover band of American hip-hop and soul, for which I did versions of hits by Dr. Dre., Snoop Dogg, and 50-cent. Authenticity was turned around: had the band done covers of hits by Brazilian rap groups, its members, for not being from Brasília's poorer periphery, would have been accused of appropriating cultural capital. My being an American, despite not from the 'hood, served to reinforce the group's "right" to do American hits.

I eventually led an English-language blues band, where my symbolic capital as American accrued greater value for being from Chicago.⁶ But it was leading the polyglot punk band X-GRANITO where I made the most sincere statement of my predicament of place. The straddling of the cultural frontier, symbolized in the lyrical treatment of Portuguese and English as a single language, was a metaphor for the idiosyncratic place of my "I." It also served to make my identity appropriately complex, something that safeguarded me against the more automatic of negative associations Brazilians make with Americans. Brazil historically has maintained close relationships with the United States.

⁶ Being a performing musician was not necessary for my research, strictly speaking, as initiation seems to have been for Fredrik Barth (1975). But appearing on stage in front of a crowd in a musical setting was a major rite of passage that earned me the respect of musicians, some directly involved in my research. I was submitted to the objectifying gaze, contemplation, and interpretation of the ethnographic other, opening a shared time/space where we could experience, as Fabian (1983) discussed, coevalness. It also gave me experiences to reflect on later. As Gilmar Santos of the punk bands ARD and X-GRANITO said, I was "feeling in my skin" (*sentindo na pele*) some of the issues I was writing about.

This has not always translated into “street-level” affection for Americans, often seen as an undifferentiated, unconscionable group of schooled yet ignorant petty tyrants, whose creeping culture of money-oriented, moralistic individualism married to a rapacious, bellicose authoritarianism is blanketing the globe. September 11 elicited, by and large, much sympathy from Brazilians, many of whom comprehended the US invasion of Afghanistan in search of Osama bin Laden. But the invasion and subsequent occupation of Iraq swiftly exhausted compassion, and I was on occasion accosted to explain how the populace of my country could support the war, support the president, support totalitarian policies vis-à-vis the rest of the world. Rumors of US plans to invade and occupy Amazônia to secure and corporatize one of the largest reserves of fresh water in the world circulate constantly; outrage and fear over the opening of a US base in Paraguay were common topics of on-line discussions; and open US belligerence towards Cuba and Venezuela has given many cause to see the US government as a local menace. The intellectual circles are the most vociferous in their criticism of the US.

Music is one facet of the Brazil-US relationship. As Caetano Veloso reveals in his autobiography (2002), Louis Armstrong, Frank Sinatra, and Nat King Cole were popular figures in his hometown of Santo Amaro in the interior of Bahia. In large cities, Elvis Presley was a marvel. In today’s rock music, much is modeled on American styles. Most of the musicians interviewed listed many US bands among their primary influences and listening preferences. Fans habitually sported t-shirts of US bands at shows, and musicians don them to play. Music, though often a site of contest, where fears of cultural

“white-out” meet irrepressible, unproblematized desire for and appreciation of foreign musics, was a problem-free topic of research. The same people who harbored deep-seated resentment against the US enjoyed our conversations about particular bands and musical styles, often expressing desire to travel to the US to tour and see live the bands that never play in Brazil. They were proud, too, of their music, if somewhat abashed by the attention I gave it.

But as much of the music I researched had political and social faces, the US was not off-limits as target of rage, derision, ridicule, and criticism within song. Music became a safe arena for the articulation of anti-US sentiment in my presence: it was clear that I was not under indictment, but I was being publicly admonished to never forget, even to join the struggle against, the devastation my country wreaked on peoples the world over. My own political position disapproves of the Bush administration’s major policies both foreign and domestic, and I often feel the symbols of my nation have been hi-jacked, making it impossible to feel patriotic pride. Nonetheless, enveloped in the half-dark light of live performance; under the complete sonic overload of the guitars’ caustic discord and the trap set’s furious, dry bursts of *tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá*; the enraged, shredded vocals of the lead singer expectorating “Fuck the USA!” and the audience’s relentless rejoinder of the same, necks straining stagewards, faces contorted with irate glee, arms, hands, and fists in stabbing synchrony—— My task was to countenance this justified expression of anger with humility, to extend my private compassion for others’ suffering to public fora, and to bear the discomfort and potential aggression with pluck.

And, of course, to devise an in-kind response.⁷

Methodology

My research was carried out both in the Pilot Plan (the central, modernist, socially exclusive area of primarily attached multi-family housing), Lago Sul and Lago Norte, (“South Lake” and “North Lake” respectively, very high income neighborhoods of primarily large single-family homes and compounds), and in the peripheral cities of Guar, Ceilndia, Taguatinga, and Gama (mixed housing, of largely lower-to-middle-income families and individuals). Brief visits to So Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Florianpolis, Belm, and Salvador provided me with comparative data.

Within Braslia I performed ethnographic research at live shows, dance parties with deejays, private parties, rehearsals, festivals, recording sessions, at bars, studios, private homes, and outdoor sites. I also found meetings, political happenings, music conferences, birthday parties and other social events, such as CD and book-release events, to be rich sites for research. Other research was carried out at visits to institutes, non-governmental organizations, museums, newspaper archives, record stores, and radio stations. My ethnographic methods included video and audio “taping,” audition of commercial and non-commercial recordings and radio broadcasts, interviews, informal conversations, and the reading of newspapers, magazines, and fanzines. My field included virtual sites, such as the on-line communities of Orkut and MySpace. These communities unite people of similar interests, providing server space to post pictures,

⁷ I shall return to this subject in Vignette 1.

videos, and music, to announce events, and to debate topics. Contact with bands and musicians was occasionally initiated via these links. I tuned into discussions regarding the local rock scene, the plight of musicians, and the meaning of being independent.

The array of people I talked to included musicians, producers, engineers, fans, parents and siblings of musicians, roadies, record store employees, deejays, a poet, a pioneer, label owners, a bar owner, writers on music, fanzine creators, managers, show organizers/producers, a politician, grassroots organizers, residents of Brasília and São Paulo, professors of music, music instructors, historians, a sound board operator, drummers, guitarists, bassists, singers, keyboardists, flautists, saxophonists, biologists, a policeman, a fireman, a lawyer, civil servants, teachers, bank employees, the unemployed, volunteers, a gardener, NGO operators, business owners, students, the famous and the unknown, people who support themselves on music alone and those who don't even dream of it, those who have toured other countries, and those who had just played their first gig.

I hear, ergo I am (here): Music, Place, Meaning, and Identity

“ . . . [J]ournalism by its nature preserves something that is central to the meaning of pop but is difficult to convey in detached academic terms: its dependence on place and time.”—Simon Frith (1988: 7)

In discussions of musical meaning it is frequent to defer to cultures, imagined as ethnically discrete social or demographic units, for guidance in demarcating the analytical

terrain. Characteristics of the culture under investigation are brought to bear on discussions of the music, especially traditions and innovations perceived as relating to the religious, historical, linguistic, political, and artistic spheres. In the final analysis, the places where the people live are tacitly understood as a defining, identifying category. The relationships between place and music, however, are largely left hypothetical rather than rigorously investigated and demonstrated. Place becomes, in effect, the silent partner in musical composition, providing inaudible inspiration for a people's taken-for-granted *raison-d'être*.

Theorizing Place I: Place as space and time

The importance of place, though not given due attention, can be exaggerated, too. Geography can be seen as limiting, and demography (social relations) as deterministic. Doreen Massey summarizes the fixing of meaning of particular spaces as based on “a view of place as bounded, as . . . a site of authenticity, as singular, fixed and unproblematic in its identity.” This conceptualization rested “in part on the view of space as stasis” (1994: 5). Geography, it seems, experienced a momentary blindness to the dynamism of space, to its historicity—analogous to the way structuralism and symbolic interpretation in anthropology left themselves vulnerable to the criticism that they ignored change and innovation. Places are locales where people relate in ways that are influenced both by where they occur and *when*. Massey calls for a consideration of place as a phenomenon of space-time, “open and porous” to what lies beyond, in both space

and time, the locale and moment under study. An effort to define a place's identity, constituted in the mix of the here/now and there/then, is an attempt "*to stabilize the meaning of particular envelopes of space-time*" (1994: 5, emphasis hers). This formulation recalls the "double boundary" metaphor, where identity is forged both from internal similarity and external difference.

Massey's formulation also harks back to the idea of the chronotope. Mikhail Bakhtin applied this concept of a nexus, or "knot," of space and time, to narrative studies for the interpretation of the ways in which languages, through their various spatial and temporal characteristics or conventions, express worldviews.

The chronotope is where the knots of narrative are tied and untied [T]he chronotope makes narrative events concrete, makes them take on flesh, causes blood to flow in their veins Thus the chronotope, functioning as the primary means for materializing time in space, emerges as a center for concretizing representation, as a force giving body to the entire novel. All the novel's abstract elements—philosophical and social generalizations, ideas, analyses of cause and effect—gravitate toward the chronotope and through it take on flesh and blood, permitting the imaging power of art to do its work. (Holquist 1986: 250).

The chronotope is, then, a cognitive concept, too, and invites ethnographic interpretation. This is where Massey and Bakhtin merge: The temporal dynamism of place means that its meanings are created diachronically. Each place should be seen as a

chronotope, a matrix where the imaginary of a people “takes on flesh” as they live it in the fullness of any representation of ideology, belief system, or worldview.

Bakhtin called heteroglossia “the problem of internal differentiation, the stratification characteristic of any national language” (Holquist 1986: 67), the “social diversity of speech types” (*ibid* 263) that make languages incapable of neutrality, due to their incorporation of extralinguistic properties, such as perspective, evaluation, and ideological positioning. I ask if music is capable of neutrality as relates to a place, by which I mean unexpressive of any relationship: *would not extramusical properties such as training, tradition, convention, and aesthetics bind a musical style or genre to its context, its place, not in any unchanging way, but in a dynamic relationship that exercises influence over both music and place?* Rock shows a certain ambivalence towards place—it is transnational and translocal. Rockers seem to use it both as an expression of specificity and of universality. That tension is one of the themes of this dissertation.

Hegemonic power structures often seek to impose canonical, monoglossic meaning on words and concepts. Likewise, the standardization of musical forms and practices would signify that a single interpretation of value in music possessed ideological predominance. Heteroglossia critiques modernist art, the indivisibility of its aesthetic project, and its disdain for pop forms. Brasília was a modernist project, while rock music has been heteroglossic, as the creation of substyles and the recombination of genres has demonstrated (hard rock, thrash metal, hardcore, thrashcore, metalcore, etc.).

This is, I believe, one reason for rock's perceived democraticity and why it has been choice among musical styles for anarchists—it resists monoglossic containment. As the DIY abbreviation says: you can “do it yourself,” an accessibility that guarantees internal socio-musical differentiation and diversity. Repetition of musical innovations stabilizes trends, and individual music events (like speech events) assist the formation of new music genres, styles, and substyles.

Brasília as a “musical city”

Anthropologists interested in urban milieus have envisioned cities as privileged loci of most, if not all, of humanity's basic relations. Their concern with place is its manifest and latent structural relationships to social, symbolic, and political economies. Setha Low typologizes contemporary studies' theoretical metaphors and images of the city as ethnic, divided, gendered, contested, deindustrialized, global, informational, modernist, postmodern, fortress, sacred, and traditional (1999: 5-21). Many of these could apply to Brasília; Holston (1989), as I discuss in detail below, has studied it as a modernist city, while Epstein (1973) highlighted the city's planning as a contested site. My analysis shows it also as a divided city, a conurbation spatially and socially rent along entrenched class and race lines; as a fortress city, as geo- and demographic divisions become more permeable and the elite seek ever greater material protection; and as a sacred city, as both the widespread mythologizing of Brasília and also its

monumentalization by UNESCO have suffused the city with mingling auras of god-given sanctity and man-given inviolability.

But my argument is that Brasília is a *musical city*. By this I do not mean only that music happens there; this term is not a gimmicky way to draw attention to musical production in the city. Rather, as I shall argue, in the city of Brasília music and place are enlaced in a mutually constitutive, dynamic, and processual dialogue. Place will come to signify not only the built, but the whole lived environment; it will encompass not just the present, but Brasília's entire history, real and imagined. One contribution I hope to make with this dissertation is to engage the aspect of *place* in musicking and reveal ways that environment and music are connected through a dialogical relationship of mutual influence. Part of the change observed might be the result of direct, conscious human intervention: a rock venue is shut down for failure to obtain the proper live-music license. This change, accreted to others of its type, may have system-wide ramifications: the scarcity of venues where rock music may be played precipitates a proliferation of non-live, non-rock musical events, such as techno dance parties. These modifications in the system may provoke variation in other fields: the growth in popularity of techno and the concomitant decline in live rock stimulate qualitative changes in the aesthetic arena of youth expression; and deterioration of financial networks among rock musicians as more DJs, a cheaper investment than a band, are hired.

On the other hand, some changes may come to pass as the indirect or unintentional result of an input, as this scenario, presented in greater detail in Chapter 3,

shows: speculation stimulates an increase in property value, causing club X to raise drink prices. Adjacent bar Y experiences a surge in customers taking advantage of its own lower drink prices, which has negative results on X's overall revenue. X's musical calendar will be affected and reflect attempts to increase revenues. DJs and cover bands, representing known quantities, may be programmed with greater frequency, which may have effects "downstream" on musicians' choice of repertoire.

These scenarios, of which the mutually implicating changes were arbitrarily chosen from an array of others, suggest that place and music are interdependent. Changes in one precipitate changes in the other, which precipitate further changes in the first. Skeptical readers might object that other, unperceived or editorially excluded, phenomena having nothing to do with either place or music could account for these changes. The rigidly scientific might demur on the basis of there existing too many "soft" variables to achieve sufficient controls—this is not the same as, for example, determining a causal relationship between the action of microbes and the erosion of rocks. The more poetically inclined might protest that the scenarios are too equational, too deterministic—these are humans, after all, not microbes (let alone rocks!). To these and other equally valid objections all I can offer is a humble plea to permit the indulgence of developing a line of inquiry that traces paths belonging at times to the social sciences, at times to the arts, and at times to neither. In the case of the "neither," I can only hope that my general argument and specific interpretations demonstrate sufficient originality and intellectual rigor as to merit consideration.

Theorizing Place II: Cosmopolitanism

Massey has helped apprehend time's role in constituting place. But at this point place still appears spatially bounded. Cosmopolitanism may assist in decoupling place from a fixed notion of space. For us the salient aspects of cosmopolitanism are the orientation towards larger demographic areas and political territories, rather than towns, regions, and, perhaps especially, nation-states; and the suggestion of a view of the moral, cultural, and epistemological worlds informed by many places, not just one's natal surroundings. It is a means for seeing how the global and the local interact. Ulf Hannerz writes that cosmopolitanism is marked by an "involvement with a plurality of contrasting cultures to some degree on their own terms" and "an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other" (1996: 103). The "willingness" separates refugees, exiles, labor migrants, and trafficked and enslaved peoples from cosmopolitans, though exiles, Hannerz points out, may sometimes become ones (1996: 106). Expatriates, with the exception of most colonizers, who maintained rigid frontiers vis-à-vis natives, would fit. The cosmopolitan class, perhaps once just the nobility and aristocracy, has now swelled to include to varying degrees musicians, diplomats, models, entrepreneurs, investors, educators, doctors, lawyers, scientists, students, and athletes. I say "cosmopolitan class," for a level of control over capital—ultimately, if not in the first instance, economic capital—seems to contribute foundationally to the creation of this distinct group.

Thomas Turino asserts that cosmopolitanism differs from globalism in two important respects. First, the former applies to “ideas, objects, and cultural positions” (2000: 7) that, while widespread, are specific to certain groups, and do not “literally or [even] very nearly encompass the totality of the earth” (2000: 6). Substantial portions of the populations of the world do not have access to the internet, for example, and thus have not incorporated into their lifeways and worldviews the specific kind of interconnectivity to which this particular, disembodied exchange of information has given rise, making the worldwide web and the digital domain something other than global phenomena. On the other hand, the contemporary state system (Turino’s example) has insinuated itself into the lives of almost everyone everywhere, even where it directly competes with an alternative organizational ethos.

Second, cosmopolitanism stresses the *translocal* character of a shared belief system, ideology, manner of dress, or etiquette, whereas globalism tends to efface localities from the map of human society. The universalist nature of globalism and its discourse denies specificity to any particular part of the whole, where ethnographically verifiable distinctions in, say, manners of thinking about the supposedly global feature may exist, which themselves constitute fundamental phenomenological differences that call into question said feature’s “globality.” I stress the ethnographic verifiability of distinctions (or similarities), for it seems little fieldwork is done to ground theories and substantiate claims of globalization.

Hannerz also draws attention to the inadequacy of “culture” and “society”—so often understood as “self-evident package deal[s]”—as critical categories, as organizing units, and as terms of analysis (1996). His argument is that so much of our knowledge, whether based on direct experience or received information, is not communicated within spaces that map onto discrete, bounded demo- or geographic territories. Furthermore, different modes of information have different boundaries of intelligibility. We are so accustomed to thinking of speech communication as primary that geographically contiguous, language-based units like “culture” and “society” are hard to move beyond, even when analyzing non-linguistic modes of cultural flow. Music, as one example, may enable a type of understanding in situations where no linguistic communication is possible. Mathematics, to take another example, may provide a means of communication across great historical divides. Perhaps we need other metaphors for the organization of people, places, and knowledge to more adequately account for the evidently various types of affinities that enable distinct kinds of knowledge.

For this Hannerz proposes “habitats of meaning,” a notion that at times appears similar to Bourdieu’s “fields.” The habitat is an environment, discursive or territorial, in which agents operate, utilize resources, and experience limitations, all in the production of meaning. They may contract, expand, and overlap with other habitats. Cultural processes, Hannerz theorizes, are often shaped through the intersection of different habitats of meaning as their agents interact.

In my reading, habitats of meaning are the fluctuating fields of our understanding, spaces where our particular epistemological history, experiential knowledge, and deep cultural orientation interface to compose matrices for comprehension of the world around us. They are by nature heteroglossic and their borders are permeable. We share habitats of meaning with others, especially those of our immediate geographic communities engaged in similar activities. But they may also become idiosyncratic. Example: a high school exchange student spends a year in a host family, speaks a foreign language, and learns subjects not taught back home. Upon returning, home does not feel the same; old friends may still be friends, but the discrepancy in experience and knowledge damage the prior identity of perspectives.

Sociologist Robert Merton, in his 1957 study of a small town in the United States, generalized the difference between cosmopolitans and locals by generalizing their knowledge bases. The latter rely on whom they know to exercise influence, while the former rely on what they know, usually a specialized kind of knowledge based on specific training (Hannerz 1996: 108; 2004: 74). Clearly this is only partially true, as members of the cosmopolitan class are also positioned to take advantage of personal connections. As we shall see, rockers in Brasília must capitalize on both kinds of knowledge: when they seek funding from government agencies, or when they engage in the activities of *panelas*, they rely on whom they know; performing, recording, and selling their music are dependent on what they know. Cosmopolitans' knowledge, according to Hannerz, can be ported from one locale to another without diminishing in

utility, and rockers who go on tour experience the range and boundaries of their cosmopolitan knowledge. He contrasts this kind of knowledge with that which is rooted in unique settings and tied to specific others. The latter is local knowledge, and constitutes the shared habitat of meaning of, for example, the Western Apaches in Keith Basso's research (1996). For these Apaches, wisdom is located in places and is transmitted through the periodic narration of instructive events, either actual or mythic, that occurred in specific, visitable locations.

Cosmopolitanism accounts for the shared habitus between localities not necessarily contiguous, so that the cosmopolitan class in Nairobi, Kenya, for example, may share more of certain sets of beliefs and behaviors with the same class in Brasília, Brazil, than with their compatriots in Katheka Kai, or the Brasilienses do with fellow Brazilians in Urucureá, Pará. In Brasília, a city with a large such class, cosmopolitanism expresses itself, as just one example, in a subject's geographic points of reference beyond Brazil. Whether someone is planning a post-doctorate in Paris, or is listening to punk records from London, these places act as flags marking points in someone's *real*, as opposed to "imagined" (Anderson 1993), community, even if to "get there" the person does not transit the places in between. Having capital of some kind at one's disposal, and exercising the choice to invest it in experiences of locales beyond one's daily, lived life, appears to be a constitutive feature of cosmopolitans.⁸

⁸ Cosmopolitanism does not democratize spatial flow, does not do away with social inequality. It is a kind of orientation toward the world, one that sees value in peoples and places beyond the local. But who can join these rarefied ranks? Hannerz reflects: "Given the asymmetrical relationships of global society, it is perhaps not self-evident that cosmopolitanism is an equally viable and desirable commitment for people

Theorizing Place III: Towards an Architectonics of Place

A central challenge of this dissertation was creating a methodology for a systematic analysis of place. A heuristic approach, first to the dissection of place into its constitutive elements most relevant to the environment of my research, and second to the examination of these elements as pertained to music, emerged after reflection on the uniqueness of Brasília and on the commonalities of places. I came up with five categories for these elements: location (geography, topography, climate), history (temporal moment), purpose (intention, design), shape (architecture, urban plan, built environment), and presence (the actions, desires, attributions, impacts of inhabitants). These do not exhaust place—of that I am certain. For example, the relationship of one place to another does not fit into any single one of these categories, yet such relationship would be an important aspect of placial analysis. But they provided me with too much material as it

everywhere. Is this primarily a noble, compassionate humanitarianism suitable only for ‘world citizens’ at the privileged centers of the global social order, while the societies and people of peripheral regions may have other priorities?” (2004: 83). Flow goes in both directions: in the center/periphery model, certain types of cultural, political and economic influence have tended to emanate from the center, whereas people from the periphery have moved to the centers, constituting the depletive “brain drain.” This term points up the emigration of ideas, too, to the centers, as specialists take with them the fruits of their training in medicine, science, business, etc. I suspect cosmopolitans tend to come from centers, so their movement to the periphery and between peripheral sites represents centrifugal human flow. But the movement of their capital—primarily epistemological and financial—does not represent “brain drain,” because they more often than not sew a sort of back stitch between center and periphery, rooted ultimately more in the former. And their financial investments are more likely to be focused in the former. In any event, activities of the cosmopolitan class complicate center and periphery distinctions: as peripheral cities become poles of financial activity, the circulation of capital of all types gradually shifts, and multiple centers spring up. The cosmopolitan class requires a set of services that tend towards homogeneity irrespective of locale—making “metropolitan villages” of enclaves at the margins. The Hard Rock Cafe in Mombasa, the Comfort Suites in Brasília, the many world banks in Guadalajara—these signs of transnational linkages are each backed by deep structural connectivity of private finance and public policy, erected to attend not to locals, but foreigners. When the vectors of traveling capital are charted, it seems that flow has historically benefited the centers. Cosmopolitanism may follow in the furrows of colonialism.

was, and I focused on purpose, shape, and presence, as these seemed to be the categories that contained the most interesting elements of Brasília's uniqueness. At times I shall make mention of elements in the other categories, as in the discussion of Brasília's geographic distance from the Rio-São Paulo axis, or the effect the rainy and dry seasons have on the musical calendar (both pertain to location). The significance of Brasília's temporal moment arises in discussions of where the country was politically and economically at the time of the city's construction. But these categories merit more attention than I shall give them.

In order to tie place and music together, I looked primarily to rockers' discourses on rock and on Brasília for clues as to how the former is emplaced and latter musicked. Other clues came from data *in* the environment—the media, studies of city, writings on rock, testaments of non-musicians, observations—that in any way related *to* the environment and to rock. The analysis of the elements I focus on, while bespeaking Brasília's distinctiveness, attests to the possibility of developing a general method and theory for studying music and place. This study proposes, then, both a specific understanding of Brasília and its rock music, and a generalizable method for studying the relationships between a work of art and the workshop in which it is made.

Meaning in Music

The search for meaning in music is, perhaps, an activity common to all areas of music studies. It joins ethnomusicologists, sociologists of music, comparative and

historical musicologists, music theorists, and music critics of our time with those of the past. But the meanings theorists hold “meaning” to have may position them in discrete ideological camps and remote realms of praxis. How to read meaning, where it can be found, what form it takes, the modes of its encoding, who or what makes it, its universality or polysemy, its elusiveness or apprehensibility, the role of media, the imprint of technology, the importance of form, the possibility of user-end signification—these are but a few of the foci of debate and angles of research.

Scholars have approached meaning in rock variously. There are those who search for music’s meaning in a sonic system of signs. Semioticians seek to analyze musical works by running their notes, phrases, chords, rhythmic figurations, and formal or structural conventions through a decoder. This decoder may be based on historical, contextual research of documents and other works of the era, or it may be of intuitive notions regarding period expectations and subjectively informed aesthetic observations. The results are interpreted to reveal meanings of an almost paralinguistic sort through the application of the terms of linguistics, and a musical lexicon, complete with grammar and syntax, is distilled. Close transcription is more important than deep ethnography. The final output is usually a reading of the music against social behavior and group aesthetics.

David Brackett (1995) interprets songs by James Brown, Elvis Costello and XTC, along with songs from other musical styles, in this manner, constructing a context through readings of the media, including reviews, articles, artist interviews, and secondary sources. His thesis is that different styles of music require different approaches

to correctly understand the meanings embodied in the compositional gestures. Robert Walser (1993) takes this angle in his analysis and interpretation of heavy metal, finding compositional and performative conventions that reflect and affirm ideas of gendered power. Sheila Whiteley (1992) analyzes the sonic object of 1960s and 1970s psychedelic rock in search of homological links between sound and experience. She interprets compositional patterns in the music that became convention as stimuli for voluntary social behavior, such as entering into trance-like states. What seems to be wanting in these studies is inquiry into the relationships of individuals involved in any aspect of music-making. People are treated by and large as undifferentiated groups.

Another approach is to look for meaning in social and material relationships. Simon Frith (1981, 1988, 2001) takes a course that considers both the industry and the audience. For him rock and pop are capitalist products of market economy, including the tools of production, means of distribution, and modes of consumption proper and unique to that market. Meaning is not solely a result of mass media creation; listeners act in groups and individually, listening to their records within a system of significance that is simultaneously highly personal and based on systems of their peers. Sara Cohen (1991) focuses on aspects of the Liverpool rock milieu, such as intra-band relationships, band creativity in making music, the practices of rehearsing, gigging and recording, and audience and band perception of styles. Ethnographic research leads to conclusions of how meaning is communicated through style.

A third approach is to see performance as text and analyze various aspects of the presentation and reception along intersubjective lines. Rock as ritual, rock as identity construction, rock as community building, rock as socio-political commentary: indeed, rock as signifier of almost any sense of self and/or the world, embodied and expressed in the act of rendering the music “fleshy.” Borrowing largely from narrative studies, cultural studies, performance studies, and philosophy, this approach privileges the agency of both musicians and audiences. Its adherents tend to prefer discursive analysis of events and ethnographic research among the music-going public to transcription as a method of bringing the reader closer to the music’s meaning. Theodore Gracyk’s Marxian reading of rock as “mass art” (2001) is based on the belief that its commoditization and circulation is so widespread so as to escape definition by anyone but groups of and individual listeners. Contrary to postmodernist perceptions that circulation separates text from context, Gracyk believes rock does not lose its context. Indeed, it is through listeners’ intellectual and emotional associations with songs’ contexts *as they experience them* that gives them material for the creation of identities. Though not about rock, Christopher Small’s 1998 study on the meanings of performing and listening to music departs from the notion that the European art tradition is autonomous and timeless, and that meaning is made manifest in the scores. He insistently argues that intersubjective relationships among performers and listeners, enacted in the event of musicking, are where meaning is manifested. Drawing on Gregory Bateson, Small doubts that meaning can exist independent of humans’ engagement with each other and their environment.

The above represent just some of the ways that meaning has been projected onto, theorized into, deciphered out of, and interpreted through rock music. Others include analyses that center on songs, and those that contrive heuristics based on imputed psychological effects of music-making and reception. In most cases a combination of approaches and techniques are used. In *Why Suyá Sing: A Musical Anthropology of an Amazonian People*, for example, Anthony Seeger discovers that far from ancillary to social events, singing makes them possible. Some forms of communication take place exclusively in song. In *Sardinian Chronicles* Bernard Lortat-Jacob finds the concept of harmony, at once a social ideal and a structural aspect of music, to be embodied in the performance of male vocal quartets and their achievement of the *quinta*, a fifth, “female” voice.

At base, I believe that relationships are where we assign, interpret, transmit, and receive meaning. I shall focus on relations between place, musicking, and subjects, not being content to remain exclusively in the realm of representation. People speak, emote, make music, reminisce, project themselves into the future. At times I shall consider performance as text, at times interpret lyrical content and musical convention, and at times read music against social and political factors. This varied approach stems from my belief that there is no single appropriate technique. The human activity of musicking and the concrete-abstract phenomenon we call music cannot, I argue, be reduced to any single, stable, unequivocal meaning, and thus no single approach is always adequate.

Identity

A large component of the identity of that place called home derived precisely from the fact that it had always in one way or another been open; constructed out of movement, communication, social relations which always stretched beyond it. In one sense or another most places have been “meeting places”; even their “original inhabitants” usually came from somewhere else. This does not mean that the past is irrelevant to the identity of place. It simply means that there is no internally produced, essential past. (Massey 1994: 170-171).

The social construction of self is tied to the cultural construction of history, the story of a place. The ways these concepts and their meanings are manipulated, manifested, and transmitted are often perceptible in how musicians dialogue musically with their environments: audiences constituting the human environment, village/town/city as the physical one, and ethnic group/nation as an ideological one. Turino’s analysis (1993) of migration patterns and musical expression across generational and geographic change showed the usefulness of such spatial and temporal considerations when interpreting meaning in music. The question becomes how to listen for identity.

Identity, for its composure, requires the mobilization of qualities, ascribed, adopted, and achieved, of one’s persona. Drawing on Alan Feldman’s discussion of agency and violence in Northern Ireland, I consider identity to be predicated on self-reflexive, transactional, interpretive framings of affiliations. These framings are

embedded, evoked, and enacted in contexts of artistic creation, which themselves are relational sequences of actions that embody choices, express affiliations, and generate external interpretation, which itself returns to form a feed-back loop (Feldman 1991, esp. 1-2). It is in praxis (Fabian 1983), in motion (c.f. Browner 2002, Browning 1995), in voicing (c.f. Seeger 1987, Rice 1995), in sounding (c.f. Feld 1990) that identity *becomes*.

Music and Identifying

The question of how the act of identifying is musicked is unresolved; heuristics abound—as the previous section on music and meaning demonstrated—but no general theory has been proposed. What has been observed is encouraging. It is clear that music-making and identification are appropriately studied together. Music-making is a “technology of self” (Hall 1996: 14), whereby the self is produced as an object in the world. It is a practice of self-constitution, one that forces recognition of, and reflection on, both the inside and outside worlds. As we make aesthetic choices regarding the music we make and listen to, we are in essence making decisions of affiliation. In the enactment of affiliations, the ego both showcases itself and subordinates itself to the group. Music-making in particular involves the constant commute between individuation and sublation. Seen from down low, getting together encourages playing together, while playing together occasions getting together. Groups are formed and maintained through performance (from informal happenings to formalized ritual), though the terms of

performance may change, as identification, I would submit, is a process that itself undergoes development.

“Precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies” (Hall 1996: 4). Because identities are not funded by something natural or essential, identification is a process of continual re-creation, and identity becomes a manufactured object. The task for the ethnographer is to witness this “dressing up,” as it were, watch as this hat, that cape, these breeches and those boots—each item chosen from a different wardrobe, possibly—are donned for particular effect (and affect). This characterization of identification as a dress-up process points to its playful aspects. The complex web of actions and reactions involves deft play as the frameworks themselves within which identities are constructed shift. The jostling of competing identity-images, each set off from the next through *différance*—the marking of alliances and oppositions, as well as the deference to recognized hierarchies—pushes the whole process of identification onto a playing field, or a stage. Each match or performance constitutes an effort to simultaneously resolve and recreate difference: on the one hand a unified, collective, homogeneous group of selves, and on the other a plurality of individuals immanently different. Together they become a co-operative of subjects with agency on group and personal levels, the *integrated individuals* I shall discuss in Chapter 6. The curtain or final whistle is an artifice of closure to this tussle over a fictional ontology, and

temporary consensus among factions is achieved. *Exeunt* the players, who acknowledge amongst themselves with furtive glances the excluded, outdetermined other, looming in the wings and on the sidelines for the next sortie.

Michael Chekhov's notion of “atmosphere” is a metaphor for the emotions that belong to no individual actor, but to the performance itself. An example is the street accident, where a particular, seemingly palpable atmosphere is generated. The energies of onlookers, policemen, paramedics, victims, and perpetrators will all contribute to the accident’s atmosphere. It is to Chekhov the best director, because it influences people to act with a persuasiveness that no human director possesses. In identification the creationary power lies with many, and it is largely unorchestrated. The resulting atmosphere will for a time move the actors of this community theatre to imagine themselves to be part of some determinative whole. Their actions, thoughts, speech acts and artistic production will issue from their perceived role in this whole. Atmosphere can help us understand the tendencies of and forces behind group agency.

Brazil and identity: Brasilidade

The effort to define the Brazilian character goes back at least as far as the middle and late 19th century, when José de Alencar, Sílvio Romero, Nina Rodrigues, and Euclides da Cunha wrote on the subject. In the early part of the 20th century, Câmara Cascudo, Paulo Prado, Mário de Andrade, Oswald de Andrade, Lima Barreto, and Gilberto Freyre were the most prominent of Brazilian thinkers engaged in the project. In

the minds of many, Brazil compared unfavorably with Europe according to ideas of the day, influenced by the positivism of Comte, the natural, biological selection of Darwin, and the social progress of Spencer. Efforts at explaining Brazil's inferiority, according to Renato Ortiz (1985: 15-17), led to theories that foresaw the eventual evolution of Brazil as a nation, and studies aimed at uncovering the national character sought to explicate the relationship between theory and reality. The concepts of race and environment guided the early studies of da Cunha, Romero, and Rodrigues, while the English historian Henry Thomas Buckle posited Brazil's persistent "backwardness," despite the propitious natural environment, on the trade winds. Fundamental to each of these thinkers' theories was that personality resulted from interaction with one's surroundings.

Abolition, signed into law in 1888, forced the question of Brazil's African heritage into the national debate, and the gradual *branqueamento* ("whitening") of the population was put forth as a solution to the obstacle to a civilized, Euro-Brazilian nation that the African-descended and indigenous populations represented. Along with Romero, Cascudo looked to popular culture for the elements that would constitute the Brazilian (Ortiz 1985: 127). In the 1920s and 1930s Gilberto Freyre redefined the Brazilian as a *mestiço* (mixed-race person) well suited to his environment, and Mário de Andrade called for the interweaving of regional musical traditions into a single, homogeneous national music. The nation's identity was becoming predicated on the popular.

While some romanticized nature and indigenous populations, others contemplated the urban condition and refashioned folkloric traditions. Beyond influencing the type of

study (almost exclusively historical and descriptive), the identity project also affected the scope of scholarship. Which “Brazil” was being privileged, and where were researchers looking to find it? Works such as Gilberto Freyre’s *Manifesto regionalista* and Mário de Andrade’s *Ensaio sobre música brasileira* focused research on the part of the population thought analogous to Herder’s *volk*, namely the mainly rural and secular music of the *mestiço* population. At the same time, those like the fascist, early modernist collective Escola da Anta’s manifesto “Nhengaçu Verde-Amarelo” projected the essence of *brasilidade* onto Brazil’s autochthonous peoples.

The earliest dominant narrative of *brasilidade* is told from the point of view of the historic Northeast, Bahia more specifically. The country’s first capital, Salvador da Bahia attracts a large portion of the country’s tourists, who go to the beaches, the famous *Carnaval* celebrations, the birthplace of *capoeira angola*, or to visit Pelourinho, the old slave market. As the continent’s primary depot for enslaved Africans, the city’s heritage is more African than any other city’s, especially apparent in religious practices. Today it is the center of Brazil’s “Afro” movement, the site of resignification of Africa and Blackness, a monument to collective memory and tradition. Not only is it home to samba’s earliest form, many of the country’s most celebrated musical styles come from Bahia, including axé music, samba reggae, and *tropicália*. In other parts of the Northeast *forró*, *côco*, *baião*, *mangue*, and *maracatu* originated.

The narrative that more closely fit within the modernists’ vision of “Brazil” centers on Rio de Janeiro, the second capital. For the last one hundred years Brazil’s

identity has largely been defined according to Rio's narrative, and *carioca* (i.e., of Rio de Janeiro) experiences have been accorded nearly universal relevance, resulting in a suppression of the narratives of other regions of the country. The *carioca* narrative has subsequently been confounded with that of the entire Brazilian nation, and its identity, often taken to be *the* Brazilian identity, has played a perhaps inordinate role in "writing the nation."

The music that best illustrated the cultural mix that modernist intellectuals positioned as Brazil's uniqueness was *carioca* samba. The ascension of samba from regional style to national symbol, traced by Hermano Vianna (1995), pushed into the background other musical styles from both Rio and other regions. For a country of such great regional diversity, I would argue that unification under any single sign owes more to political craftsmanship than sincere expressions of people's will-to-meaning. Indeed, many of Brazil's greatest authors, such as Guimarães Rosa, Rachel de Queiroz, Jorge Amado, and Ariano Suassuna, have located the roots of their own *brasilidade* in regional expressionism, and myriad regional musical styles express local conceptualizations of identity. What Rio *sambistas* Sinhô, Noel Rosa, and Cartola said about their life experiences (each of them quite different) vary from what Jackson do Pandeiro of the Northeastern state of Paraíba, the Suyá (Kĩsêdjê) of Mato Grosso, or the Conjunto Farroupilha of the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul say about theirs. Brasília's rockers have yet a different story to tell.

Yet since the 1940s, samba, especially the varieties from Rio, has been associated with Brazil in an almost homologous way, where samba is the ritual to the myth of “Brazil.” This is reflected in the predominance of studies of samba in Brazilian music literature of the 20th century. Though a national symbol until today and still a force of national and local identity, it seems to be associated both with the past, to an era when Rio de Janeiro’s cultural and political hegemony was stronger than it is today, and a particular time of the year, *Carnaval*. Activity in the music industry seems to support my interpretation of a growing affective gap: the return to more local expressions of *brasilidade* can be heard in the music of popular groups like Mestre Ambrósio, the *armorial* of Antônio Carlos Nóbrega, or Nação Zumbi’s mangue, a mix of techno, rap, and rock with maracatu. The recent revival of classic samba in live shows of old sambistas and in remastered recordings on labels like *Revivendo* (“renewing”, “reliving”) may be a sign of nostalgia, a search in another place for something lacking, or imagined, a “slight of heart,” so to speak, enabling one to invest the past with affective desiderata of the present.

Though rock music is not, according to Turino’s definition, a “global” music (personal experience in parts of Africa showed that it had little or no media presence in vast areas), it is made and appreciated in many parts of the world and can be legitimately called a transnational music. As we shall see, its cosmopolitan association by rockers is a primary reason for its place in the construction of an identity for Brasília. Its original popularity in Brasília had to do with the existence of a strong cosmopolitan class of

politicians, ambassadors, intellectuals and their families, who evidently felt attracted to cultural forms that brought them into contact with known and imagined others in ideologically significant parts of the world.

Rock and Brasília have been silent and invisible in narratives of *brasilidade*.

Dark Matter

My central metaphor for how things work in Brasília's rock underground is *dark matter*. Astronomers and astrophysicists have modeled the universe in part by studying the behavior of celestial bodies and their effects on other bodies. One of the properties measured of a body under observation is its velocity, and from this its mass can be calculated. This is true of single bodies as well as of clusters of bodies, such as a galaxy, even clusters of galaxies. Mass determines gravity, one of the four fundamental forces in the universe, and the primary one at work on stellar scales. In a cluster it is the force of gravity of each galaxy acting on the others that determines the velocity of each. The higher the galaxies' mass and velocities, the greater the cluster's overall gravity (and mass) must be to keep it intact and prevent its diffusion and the dispersion of its galaxies.⁹

In the 1930s, when diffusionism occupied some of comparative musicology's best minds (Sachs 1936; Hornbostel 1933; Wieschoff 1933; Kunst 1936; Bukofzer 1937; Danckert 1937), astronomers were searching the skies for evidence of Edwin Hubble's

⁹ I developed the dark matter metaphor after reading *Urban Tribes*, in which Ethan Watters in passing refers to the loosely connected friendship networks as "dark matter."

1927 claim that the universe, hitherto believed static, was expanding. Pluto had been sighted (1930) and radio astronomy was being founded. In 1933, Swiss-Bulgarian astronomer Fritz Zwicky observed that the velocities of the Coma and Virgo clusters were many times what they should have been, given the known masses of the galaxies comprising them. Something—a quantity of mass—not visible was holding the clusters together. Few of his colleagues gave much thought to his “missing mass” problem. Zwicky, however, posited that more than 90 percent of the universe’s total mass was comprised of “dark matter”: not directly observable mass that would explain the behavior of galaxies and the structure of the universe. This indicated that of what we know to be the universe, only one-tenth was directly observable. The rest would require the interpretation of other phenomena pointing to its existence.

In the 1970s tests measured light waves emitted by rotating galaxies through the Doppler Shift, a principle analogous to the Doppler effect on sound waves: When a galaxy is viewed edge-on, like a record held at eye level, stars on one side are seen to move away from Earth, while on the other they are moving closer. The spectra of those moving away will shift toward red, while those approaching will shift toward blue; how much they are shifted can be used to calculate the galaxy’s rotational speed and mass. One of Kepler’s laws states that the farther out something orbits, the slower it should move relative to the center. This explains why a Plutonian year—the length of a single revolution about the sun—is 248 times as long as one Earth year and 1028 times that of

Mercury.¹⁰ What astronomers were finding, however, was that galaxies were spinning as fast at the edge as at the center and at speeds which, given the intrinsic gravity measured according to the visible mass, should tear them apart—that is, send entire star systems spinning off into space. These observations indicated the existence of much more mass in the galaxies than visible bodies justified.

The theory that since 1998 seems to provide the best explanation for the “missing mass” problem is the LCDM (“Lambda Cold Dark Matter”) theory, sometimes referred to as the “Dark Energy plus Cold Dark Matter” theory, or simply the “Double Dark” theory (Primak and Abrams 2006). Its adherents hypothesize that the visible universe comprises just over 0.5% of the total mass. The majority of the rest is dark energy and dark matter. While the former pushes, the latter pulls. They are not merely unlit, they are invisible in principle, i.e. they do not radiate anything we know how to measure.

The study of the cosmos is seemingly remote from that of music, even if radio astronomy suggests a link between our fields. Perhaps it is in the physics and mathematics of music where the two fields appear to most approach each other; in the final analysis music *is*, like gamma, infrared, and radio waves, “mere” radiation. The technological means by which researchers capture this radiation is one way to detect whether they are of the astro- or musico-ilk. Furthermore, the disciplines that these two fields draw upon suggest the epistemological relation to be nearly nil.

¹⁰ If we lived on Pluto, disregarding climactic discomfort, J.S. Bach would have died just late last year and the Society for Ethnomusicology would have been founded about two and a half months ago. In contrast, on Mercury, those two events would have occurred over a millennium ago and some two to three centuries ago, respectively.

Ethnomusicological approaches to the study of music include analyzing it from musicological, sociological, and anthropological angles. It considers relevant research in folklore, linguistics, psychology, political science, geography, literary studies, and economics, while astronomy is kith and kin with math, physics, chemistry, and geology. But the “human factor” is certainly the starkest distinction between these fields: Music, if “humanly organized sound,” cannot exist without humans; astronomers may look for other life, but life does not inscribe their science as it does ours. Being both of the humanities and the sciences, ethnomusicology has twin objects, other humans and music.

So how does a prolix discussion of invisible matter get us closer to understanding rock music in Brasília? In the literary tradition of metaphor, exemplified by Bakhtin’s reapplication of the concept of chronotope from Einstein’s theories on space-time, I offer the concept of dark matter as a metaphor. First, on an aesthetic plane, it alludes to the appearance of the typical rock crowd. At shows musicians and fans dress in the *de rigueur* black t-shirt, with black pants, black skirts, black cloaks, black vests, black hose, black hats, black bags, black sneakers and boots all part of the gear. Black hair, whether natural or dyed, black make-up, and black nail polish are common elements of rockers’ styles, which vary with musical style: If we imagined the rock spectrum as having pop-rock on one end and “goth” rock on the other, a spectroscope would reveal the highest color-to-black ratio on the pop-rock end and the lowest on the opposite. In fact, “goths” are often referred to by other rockers as “*os darks*” (“the darks”). Rockers of all musical

“tribes”¹¹ recognize black as their aesthetic country. “*Os coloridos*” (“the coloreds” or “the colorful ones”) is the name given to the listeners of electronica for their penchant for bright clothing and accessories. Thus, black becomes a visual determining sign for a musical community, one that serves to orient both insiders and outsiders.

The second way in which dark matter serves as metaphor is by drawing attention to what one does not see about the rock scene. The health and functioning of the scene depends on the activities of countless individuals hidden from the view of those outside the scene (and of some inside it, too). They participate in an economy that is, financially speaking, largely negative, where money is more often lost than made. They are devoted to keeping the music heard; yet they are almost entirely absent from the limelight that follows the rock celebrities. Dark matter describes, then, the mass of passionate rockers without whom the scene would be either non-existent or very different. It is, however, not just the scene that they are dedicated to preserving; many are engaged in social projects that help keep greater society from falling apart. This work goes largely unseen and unappreciated.

The final reason I propose dark matter as metaphor to aid analysis is that it helps see the totally unseen and little understood aspect of musicking: emotion is what brings people together, what motivates expression in music, what funds the will to dedicate oneself to music, what energizes one to dance, what brings one back to see a favorite

¹¹ The term “tribo” is, pardon the pun, a native category. In its official usage it refers to the organizing principle of native peoples in Brazil and elsewhere, such as the Suyá; in the colloquial usage of *roqueiros* and others, it refers to the musical community to which someone belongs. I shall discuss this term in Chapter 4.

band or a type of show again and again. It is what binds communities, yet it is often ignored. Small (1998) echoes Bateson's hypothesis that emotion is a "computation" or evaluation of a perceived relationship. It is how we communicate to our brain what we feel implicitly about a situation, and therein lies emotion's significance: it contains basic information regarding our perceived environment. This dissertation will show how the dark matter of rockers' emotional responses to their environment are anything but eviscerated simulacra. They represent the strongest force in the rockers' universe. Emotion has—is—gravity.

Aesthetic markers and emotional expression both have been declared devoid of substance in postmodernist critiques of pop culture and music. As Neil Nehring (1997) argues, aesthetic markers may signal deeper organization, acting as a flag for the invisible territory giving coherence to a collective, the principle behind which may be both emotional and rational. Postmodernist music critics are fond of claiming that pop musicians and their fans express eviscerated emotion, simulacra of real emotion, and they discursively deny the possibility of it having content and potential for sober, reflective, and constructive action. As I shall show, the rock community in Brasília engage emotionally and rationally with their music and larger society in ways, some of them aesthetic, that warrant critical analysis.

Dark matter is a powerful metaphor for three aspects of rock culture in Brasília and, I would argue, everywhere. They are interrelated in this way: The black visual aesthetic marks a community for itself and for others and symbolizes the aural aesthetics;

those active “behind the scene” to keep it and the wider world going are members of this community; and the sustaining energy of their activities and the community in general is emotion. Dark matter, as the dominant source of gravitational forces in the universe, is theorized to be responsible for the structure and functioning of our universe, whatever it might be. Likewise, I attribute the structure and functioning of the rock scene to this metaphorical dark matter.¹²

Conversations joined

This study joins ongoing conversations among authors and readers primarily of studies of urban music, politics, and culture (Askew 2002, Regev and Seroussi 2004, Szemere 2001); music, space, and place (Feld and Basso 1996, Grazian 2003, Von Glahn 2003, Whiteley, et al. 2004); music and cosmopolitanism (Lutz 2000, Turino 2000); popular music in Brazil (McCann 2004, Reily 2002, Vianna 1995, Walden 1996); and regional (re)configurations of place-based identity through popular music (Bigenho 2002, Dent 2003, Diehl 2002, Galinsky 2002, Stivale 2002, Wallach 2005, Waxer 2002).

Galinsky (2002) makes several observations that suggest that *mangue*, an urban musical style local to Recife (capital of the Northeastern state of Pernambuco) mixing elements of rap, rock, and *maracatu*, interfaces with its social, cultural, and economic environments in ways similar to rock in Brasília. Chief among these is the way that its

¹² What, in the final analysis, is dark matter? What is it made of? One theory holds that MACHOs (Massive Compact Halo Objects), made up of normal (baryonic) matter, comprise the invisible matter, while the competing and currently more likely explanation is that WIMPs (supersymmetric Weakly Interacting Massive Particles), constructed of some “exotic,” non-baryonic matter, make up the difference. In the Brasiliense rock underground, both machos and wimps exist.

community, which includes people involved in non-musical social artistic activities, contests the hegemony of the national in determining the parameters of identity. Galinsky argues that *mangue*, in contradistinction to samba and bossa nova, demonstrates “the relative decline of the state (‘Brazil’) as the primary conduit for cultural representation,” as well as importance of the local and locality, and new relation of global-local dynamics (16). Rock in Brasília, too, bypasses the national in pursuit of self-expression; rockers work within transnational conventions of rock music to express themselves and then build translocal bridges with other communities, regardless of location. In effect, the national as source and signifier of identity loses not only its hegemony, as Galinsky argues for *mangue*, but is stripped of special status, becoming one among others. Rock musicians, however, go further: the region and the city, such potent signifiers in *mangue*, wield little force in determining the music’s and the community’s identities. This does not mean that they bear no relation (my thesis is indeed the contrary); but rockers in Brasília do not purport to draw on Brasília’s traditions or the region’s cultural history. In fact, as Fellipe CDC points out below, if Brasília has a tradition, it is rock. Galinsky attributes the national/regional/local reconfiguration and the “smudging” of binaries such as modern-traditional, urban-rural, center-periphery, and global-local to *mangue*’s postmodern qualities. I do *not* argue this in relation to rock.

Galinsky envisions *mangue* as “reflecting and embodying the expanding possibility for subaltern, Third World musicians to project their own localized interpretations of music and culture within a more global system” (120). In a general

way, this is true for rock, too: rockers in Brasília (whether they are “subaltern” or from the “Third World” is another issue) are engaged within a multi-focal dialogue on the meaning of music, politics, economics, and other subjects, but I do not think this is saying much, for it is likely true of most musicians and musical communities. A crucial difference between Galinsky’s analysis of manguê and mine of rock is that rockers in Brasília do not make the point that they are asserting their difference vis-à-vis the rest of the country, nor that they are projecting their uniqueness into the world. They are concerned with joining, not distinguishing. That is what makes the issue of how rock can then become a factor in forging a local identity seemingly paradoxical, and therefore compelling.

Waxer (2002) analyzes salsa in Cali, Colombia, and its role in local identity. Its importance in defining Cali for Caleños is curious, both because Cali has no direct cultural connection with Cuba or Puerto Rico, the two places most responsible for salsa’s consolidation as a genre, and because salsa has had far less impact in other parts of the Colombia. Caleños claim salsa as their music, and Cali has been regarded by many within Colombia as well as in other countries (such as Venezuela) as being a center of salsa. Locals know how to differentiate between salsa made locally and that made in other countries (215-16). Waxer points to the imported salsa recording, the *tabernas* and *salsotecas* (venues for listening and dancing to records), and the social groups of *melómanos* (record collectors and aficionados) that formed around recordings and the

collective act of listening as the most durable and influential components of a musical “memory” that affirmed salsa’s popularity.

Rockers in Brasília, like the salsa musicians in Cali, have no historical cultural connections with the places of origin of their preferred type of music (the USA and UK). Nonetheless, Brasília has been a reference in Brazil for rock music, which has become for rockers the musical style that most characterizes their lifestyle and their aesthetic expression. Rock history is their musical genealogy. They are thus distinguished from enthusiasts of Brazil’s other, more “Brazilian” musical styles; Waxer points out that a similar dynamic obtained in Colombia, especially between listeners of *música tropical*, a big band style of music incorporating some traditional folk music forms that originated on Colombia’s Atlantic coast. Though, as I mentioned above, Brasiliense rockers are not concerned on the whole with distinguishing their music from punk/hardcore/metal made in other countries, different styles are recognized. Frango Kaos, a local sound engineer, an accomplished bassist, and the vocalist for the grindcore band Galinha Preta (see track 5 on the CD), gave me a demonstration of stylistic differences as he imitated, with hilarious improvisations, the bass lines and vocal delivery styles of hardcore from Brazil, the US, the UK, and Finland.

The early circulation among Brasília’s youth of tapes and records of rock bands first from abroad and later São Paulo played a similar role of establishing normative musical styles that influenced local bands. Salsa, however, both from Colombia and abroad, has enjoyed a much higher level of commercial success and been recorded far

more than rock of the kind with which this dissertation is concerned. The latter's commercial unviability means that no star-system exists of the type among salsa musicians, nor is there much impulse to produce for the media (see Waxer 2002: 218). No venues like *salsotecas* exist to listen to records of underground bands. Rockers in Brasilia produce mainly for live events, and the phonogram has been of significantly less importance to the local scene than for Caleño salsa fans and musicians. A certain homogeneity does exist, however, among the current underground bands, and this to my ear and eye is due to the influence that both locally popular bands and certain well-known ones from abroad exert on musicians. It is what gets the *roda de pogo* turning or heads banging that will set standardizing stylistic parameters for a time, however brief.

While many studies of music and identity tend to examine a bounded ethnicity or nation—and I do not mean to discount the importance or disregard the complexity of these studies—some have begun to consider music that does not correspond to an older model of a bounded culture. Browner (2002) examines musical repertoires, dance styles, and regalia across regions and tribal affiliations and throughout history, Sugarman (1997) follows Prespa communities from Albania to the United States, Turino (1993) compares and contrasts Aymara musical practices in the Andes highlands and among migrants in Lima, Peru, and Diehl (2002) studies musical and cultural production in a Tibetan refugee community in India. I intend for this study to contribute to this body of work as it examines music in a particular place, as well as against place's particularity. It should also add to the slight but growing bibliography on music in Brasília (Marchetti 2001,

Palencia 1997, Vieira 2005), as well as books on Brazilian rock published in Brazil (Alexandre 2002, Dapieve 1995), which join the substantial bibliography on rock throughout the world (e.g. Wallach 2005).

Layout

In Chapter 2, “BSB DIY,” I present Brasília as a matrix: the ideology of its planners; its idealization as modernist utopia; a partial history of its construction and settlement; and selected salient aspects of its physical, demographic, and economic features. Much good work has been done on the city, primarily in Brazil, and it is here that I bring to the discussion key data and insights of previous researchers. In the second half of the chapter I give a history of Brasiliense rock and contextualize my research in the city’s rock scenario. I also introduce the idea of the *socio-spatial homology*, a central finding of my research.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 each examine a constitutive element of place: purpose, shape, and presence, respectively. The first two do so each with the help of three local discourses, what I call “rock’s refrains,” that show how Brasília and rock are related and ways that the former has played a role in the development of the latter. Chapter 4 takes up the socio-spatial homology again. Chapter 5 examines the impact the presence of underground rockers has had on the constituting of place. It engages the metaphor of dark matter as a way of understanding the underground from the three angles mentioned,

which take the place of the “refrains” of the two preceding chapters. Illustrative vignettes follow these chapters to flesh out choice aspects of their preceding chapters.

Chapter 6, the conclusion, is where I advance the three key findings of my research: that place and music are related in specific and observable ways and that each offers insights in how to interpret and find meaning in the other; that Brasília’s underground rock scene is doing utopian work where the vision of the city’s designers has not been realized; and that rock demonstrates a need for the inclusion of another type of subject position and for Brasília’s contribution to narratives of *brasilidade*. I enlist the help of the Brazilian panorama of subject positions presented by anthropologist Roberto DaMatta (1991). I also suggest new ways of hearing music for how to get at what I see as the deepest question of all: why we play the music we do.

Chapter 2

BSB DIY

In this chapter I shall present Brasília, through impressions, historical data, statistics, and the reflections of several musicians. This chapter is divided into three parts: “Brasília: a brief,” “Capital of Hope,” and “Capital of Rock.” In “Brasília: a brief” I locate and define the city Brasília, offer personal impressions as a visitor and resident of the city, and provide basic background information. In “Capital of Hope” I present the myths and ideologies anticipating and undergirding the city’s construction, those of Juscelino Kubitschek, president at the time of Brasília’s initial construction and the city’s symbolic and sentimental father, and those of Brasília’s designers, Lucio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer. I then turn to Brasília today, analyzing demographically and syntactically a city no longer a model or diorama, but a life-sized, populated *urbs*. The socio-spatial homology I have identified will be introduced here. In “Capital of Rock” I present the city from the perspective of its musical history, introducing the reader to its principle historical rock bands and the genesis of the current rock scene. The underground scene is presented, and I contextualize the local within the national and international rock scenes. Several musicians talk about the underground scene today.

While this chapter presents information that is relevant to the entire dissertation, each of the next two chapters will draw more directly on particular sections of this chapter. Chapter three, “Architectonics 1: Place as Purpose,” will build more directly on

“Capital of Hope”; while chapter four, “Architectonics 2: Place as Shape” will interact more closely with “Capital of Rock.” Chapter five, “Architectonics 3: Place as Presence: Dark Matter” deals with ways that the rock community responds to the place that Brasília is, ways that they seek to impact it, means by which rockers author place. As such, it will draw on everything presented in this chapter, as well as the others.

The title of this chapter, “BSB DIY,” juxtaposes the abbreviation for Brasília, used in airports, on forms, and anywhere shorthand is convenient, with that of “Do It Yourself,” a philosophy of self-production and anti-consumerism. Applied directly to music, DIY was popularized in the mid- and late 1970s with punk bands and anarcho-punk culture. They believed that music, like most everything else, needed to be rescued from the “experts” and put back in the hands of the masses. One did not need to study music in cloistered conservatories to play an instrument or make music. Indeed, knowing how to play an instrument was not, and is not, required to form a band and express oneself musically. Furthermore, they combated the music industry’s monopoly on the production and distribution of music. “DIY not EMI” (a major record label) was a slogan that preached reliance on independent means. The DIY ethic inspired their visual aesthetic, as well, for creating your own look was seen to fly in the face of conservative dress conventions and “pre-fab” consumer culture. Underground music culture, wherever it is found, exercises a high degree of DIY, seen both as more sustainable than reliance on the mainstream and as a safeguard of authenticity, often perceived as a casualty of major-

market success. In Brazil the literal translation “Faça você mesmo” is often used in spoken language, though “DIY” appears in writing.

Brasília’s fame as the Capital of Rock was built on its DIY bands, which, as we shall see below, were inspired by punk rock from the UK and USA. In a sense, its appellation “Capital of Hope” too depended on Juscelino Kubitschek’s DIY approach. The plan to move the capital from Rio de Janeiro to the interior of the country remained ensconced in the constitution since its first version, drawn up in 1889. No president dared undertake the project until Kubitschek, who, while stumping in the rural city of Jataí, Goiás, was asked if he would move the capital if elected. As he had been declaiming respect for the law and the constitution, the question was uncomfortably à propos. He made it a promise and later would reach the conclusion that he could not start the project then leave its completion to his successors, for it would run the risk of being abandoned (Tamanini 2003a: 81-3). He would have to do it himself. The plan met with much resistance—based largely on its extreme expense—and the fact that it occurred at all is to this day seen as a testament to his vision, perseverance, and statesmanship.

* * * * *

Brasília: a brief

Brasília is located in the quadrilateral state of the Federal District between the parallels of 15°30’ and 16°03’ south and the meridians 47°25’ and 48°12’ west. Covering a mere 0.06% of the country, it is the smallest state, with an area of 5,789 km² (2,235 sq.

mi.). This makes it about 14% larger than Delaware, equal to Brazil's proportion to the contiguous US. The Federal District is nestled within the state of Goiás, and its southeastern corner borders the state of Minas Gerais. It is situated in one of the highest areas of the Central West region of the country, called the Planalto Central, or the Central Plateau. Its climate is tropical, and it has two distinct seasons, rainy and dry, corresponding roughly to summer and winter. The rainiest months tend to be November to January, and the driest June to August, but this has varied greatly in recent years. The region's biome is the rich and varied but generally depreciated *cerrado*, a dry woodland/savanna that is home to some 10,000 species of plants in an area of 1,916,900 km² (740,100 sq. mi.), equivalent to 22% of the country, or an area about the size of Alaska. Presently it is threatened by large-scale monocultural farming of soy and corn. Thirty-eight indigenous groups with a population of approximately 45,000 inhabit the *cerrado*. The whole area can be seen from space, its naturally occurring quartz glittering like a glean of herring at sunrise.

“Brasília” at times refers to the Pilot Plan only. Other times “Brasília” means the Pilot Plan, North and South Lakes, Sudoeste (“Southwest”) and four neighborhoods that have distinct names, appearances, and histories—Cruzeiro, Octogonal (“Octagonal”), Vila Planalto, and Vila Telebrasil. The inclusion of these has to do with geography, as they are all located within the immediate surroundings of the Pilot Plan. Still other times, Brasília refers to all of the satellite cities as well. The ambiguity may be based in situational usage—who one talks to, when, where, and in what context. But it is

reinforced by the interchangeability one observes where an American would expect conformity: in highway signs. Approaching the Pilot Plan from Gama, a satellite city to the south approximately 40 km from the Pilot Plan, one encounters arrows pointing the way to the “Pilot Plan.” Farther on a sign appears addressing “Srs. Visitantes à Brasília” (“Visitors to Brasília”), informing them that in Brasília one should avoid honking the horn. Farther on still appears a sign pointing the way to Brasília. This seems to equate Brasília with the Pilot Plan, excluding the satellite cities. Approaching the Pilot Plan from the north, however, one sees a sign posted just before the satellite city of Planaltina saying “Bem-vindo à Brasília” (“Welcome to Brasília”). This puts the satellite cities within Brasília. However, further on, just before Sobradinho, the closest north-lying satellite city, one sees signs for Brasília. Apparently Brasília does *not* include the satellite cities. Then, suddenly, a sign for Rio de Janeiro, Goiânia, and the Pilot Plan.

On an administrative level, Brasília is one “RA” (administrative region) among, as of this writing, 29, just like Planaltina, Gama, Cruzeiro, etc. Beyond Brasília and the Federal District (referred to from now on following local custom as “DF”) lies the “Entorno,” the cities just over the border in Goiás. These cities, such as Valparaíso and Jardim Ingá, are in some ways part of greater metropolitan Brasília. Closer to Brasília than to Goiânia, the capital and only large city of Goiás, cities of the Entorno are part of the socio-musical universe of Brasília and the DF: youth frequently take buses into Brasília for important shows, and bands from Brasília and the DF often include Entorno cities on their concert circuits.

Finally, the 2000 census, published by IBGE, the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, effectively equates Brasília with the DF when it lists identical population figures for the two geographical-administrative regions.

Indicative of the social-symbolic relevance of “Brasília” are its usage in everyday speech and the implications of such. Carolina, singer and leader of the defunct metalcore band *Pœna* (see track 10 of the CD), recalled fierce debates in primary and secondary school, in which residents of Cruzeiro and Guará (two of the nearer satellite cities) claimed to be from Brasília, while others wanted to deny them this status (Diniz 2005). For many, the identity of their interlocutor determines their position. For example, if the other person is a local, they are likely to specify their RA of residence.¹³

I shall henceforth use “Brasília” to refer to the RA of Brasília plus all others; that is, “Brasília” will include all of the DF. I will specify the RA when discussing a particular part of Brasília. This usage of “Brasília” will not imply cities of the Entorno, which will be referred to by their individual names. “Pilot Plan” will refer to Asa Sul (“South Wing”), Asa North (“North Wing”), plus Vila Planalto and Vila Telebrasília. I have chosen this definition of “Brasília” for three reasons. First, it corresponds to the fundamental linkages that the satellite cities and Pilot Plan have: they exist in symbiosis.

¹³ “Brasília” and “satellite city” are terms that carry heavy symbolic significance. The former retains the connotations of “modern” and “developed” and remains a magnet for immigrants in search of work and a better life. The latter connotes a lower quality of life, based on the confluence of the following component connotations: less security, fewer resources, physical distance, more pollution, and ugly architecture. For these reasons, it is inconceivable that North or South Lake, the two wealthiest RAs, would be considered satellite cities, even though they are farther from the Pilot Plan than Cruzeiro, considered by some to be one. Parts of the N. and S. Lakes are farther than Candangolândia, indisputably a satellite city. The Lakes have mansions, and South Lake is home to many embassies. They are easily reached by car across any of the three bridges, though their relative inaccessibility by public transportation underscores their symbolic differentiation from the satellite cities: poor people should not have easy access.

Second, it is the way people refer to the area when not feeling the need to be specific. It is how I was introduced to the region. Third, Brasília's designers wanted Brasília to represent the beginning of a new era, one of hope, one that would reverse the social ills of the country, many based on entrenched hierarchy and social exclusion. The failure of Brasília to effect such radical improvements, indeed its exacerbation of some of the long-standing problems, is not an indictment of the utopian daring, desire, and dream. Instead, it is the result of hegemonic forces and interests working to preserve the status quo. By including everyone in "Brasília" I am, I feel, honoring the utopian sentiment in Brasília's creation.

Sociologist Brasilmar Nunes of the University Brasília writes in his study *Brasília: a fantasia corporificada*: "There are two levels of analysis that can be adopted: one that looks at the Federal District in its entirety—the Pilot Plan and the satellite cities—and another that sees or privileges the Pilot Plan separately" (166).¹⁴ This ambiguity is due to a real separation that informs how people live and the ways in which they think about the city. It affected my research profoundly. About six months into the main research period I realized in an epiphanic moment that my study was in danger of reproducing the social exclusion that lay at the root of the physical design of Brasília and was exacerbated by it. I saw that I was unwittingly equating Brasília with the Pilot Plan, thus excluding all life beyond the celebrated center of the city. If I were to continue to treat the Pilot Plan as Brasília I would end up limiting my research to the very area that

¹⁴ Original reads: "Assim, há dois níveis de análise que podem ser adotados: um que vê o Distrito Federal no seu conjunto – Plano Piloto e satélites – e outro que o enxerga separadamente ou privilegia apenas o Plano Piloto . . ." This and all other translations by Wheeler unless otherwise noted.

has benefited from research, media attention, and infrastructure—in short all kinds of capital, be it social, economic, political, or symbolic. This dissertation and resulting publications would reinforce the invisibility of the satellite cities (or their representation as poor, violent, and unimportant).

* * * * *

First visits to cities are memorable and strange. The familiar and the novel co-exist as layers of the same object, making a kind of palimpsest through which other places shimmer, like mirages of oases in strange deserts, memories. Sometimes the new city presents itself as an arid strand, devoid of delight. Other times it is wondrous, full of smells, hues, and noises, striking forms and odd angles, mathematical mysteries (how is that building not falling?) and geographic paradoxes (how did that street lead me back here?). The moment I most cherish is when, after a few weeks in a new place, the awareness washes over me of already having been *in this exact place*—but whereas it was once disorienting, it is now becoming familiar: the moment is liminal, for I can still call up the disorientation, as if I were looking at the optical illusion of the faces and the vase. The moment of liminality is precious and fleeting. Too soon I have passed over the threshold through to the other side, the side of knowing, and the feeling of being lost is, itself, lost.

Brasília is a different kind of city. There is no palimpsest, there are no memories; the liminal moment is postponed, and the threshold is a long, curving tunnel. Its design

defies comparison with other cities, making it a zone of dizzying contrast. It belongs to a class of planned cities, specifically those of the early and mid-twentieth century, cities whose visual patterns broke with established traditions, whether in the Americas, Europe, Asia, or Africa. Thus, the usual clues to decipher the meaning of shapes, of getting to the content of the forms before us, are missing. For example, to get from one place to another in Brasília via roadways, one inevitably must go in the opposite direction at least once before arriving at the desired destination. Even going between two adjacent or proximate locations may entail moving in a way that seems counter-intuitive when relying on familiar design patterns.

Another example is the system of addresses, or the plotting of locations according to a system of referents. My address in Brasília: SQS 103-D-104, 70342-040 Brasília-D.F. In its expanded form: *Superquadra* South 103, *bloco* D, *apartamento* 104. I live in the 3rd superquadrant of the 100 series in the division South Wing, in D Block, on the 1st floor, in the 3rd apartment. From my window I see Block E and beyond it Block A. To the west, across the street called W2 (i.e. West 2), is Superquadrant 303. To the south is SCLS (“Local Commercial Sector South”) 103, and to the north is EQS 103, the open field called *Entrequadra Sul*, or “Between-quadrant South” 103. To the east is the local highway known as Eixo W, or West Axis. Typically it is called “eixinho de cima” or “little upper axis”, since there are three such parallel axes. Superquadrant 203 is located on the far side of the three axes, just east of East Axis (“little lower axis”).

In the words of Nicholas Behr, local poet and lyricist, “SQS or SOS? that is the question!”¹⁵ These examples demonstrate how a-referential Brasília is, and why it presents itself as an enigma to émigrés. It constantly reminds one that it is unlike any other city. The system, like all systems, renders certain things clear while obfuscating others. Brasília, with its essential estrangement, may even obfuscate a sense of one’s *own place*.

Brasília can be a cruel city. It does not offer the collective comfort of the anonymous sort, save in bars and shopping malls. Brasília has virtually no public places not structured around commercial activity. Those without families feel an even greater sense of alienation. People with houses, *chácaras* (cottages), farms, pools, and other private, open spaces entertain their friends and relatives; but those without such spaces, or without friends or family, find little solace, even in the darkness of movie theaters. Saturdays and Sundays are extreme: the emptiness of Brasília is redoubled, as people stay in, or go to others’ homes. The streets can be frighteningly devoid of souls; passing near someone can require going out of one’s way. Lunchtime is the worst, for eating alone, acceptable during the week, is truly depressing when the social code calls for being in the company of others.

Brasília is a beautiful city, too. Trees, flowers, bushes, and plants from all over the country (symbolic of the city’s human diversity) decorate the city and provide shade and color. The jasmine-like fragrance of *dama da noite* envelops those who stroll at

¹⁵ “SQS ou SOS? eis a questão!” Much of Behr’s literature seeks to express the essence of Brasília by confronting its structural strangeness.

twilight along the lush paths that stretch out in front of apartment buildings. Each season brings new treasures: different seeds, pods, petals, and leaves fill the cracks in the sidewalks. Jackfruit hang pendulously from cordlike stems. High nestling mangoes are targets of sticks, rocks, even other mangoes hurled from below by children returning from school, day laborers on break, and adult women out walking small dogs. Crates of pinha, caqui, and grapes, wheelbarrows of umbu, pitomba, and plums, rafts of papaya and starfruit, piles of bananas, and pyramids of apples, pineapples, and oranges make a minimarket of every entrance and exit, speed bump, and turn.

The city that most tourists see is the Pilot Plan, Brasília's famous design. It is marked by low, mostly rectangular buildings (only a handful of constructions in the city's hotel and bank sectors are taller than six storeys); long, straight highways; verdant edges and vast green clearings; discrete, monumental constructions; deceptive distances between buildings; and an unobstructed, resplendent sky of such magnificence that it is referred to as "Brasília's sea." The soil is a ferrous red and the light diamondiferous. Concrete was the original construction material of choice, whereas glass is now preferred; both materials are reflective. The city gleams from top to bottom.

Construction of Brasília began in 1957. The name was originally suggested in 1822 by a person whose identity is not remembered, but who defended the eventual moving of the capital. The site was first surveyed in 1893 by a commission called the Cruls Mission, led by the astronomer Luiz Cruls. One of the reasons given for the choice of its location is that there was but "one-half inhabitant per square kilometer" (Nunes

2004: 65, note 2). Another is that in 1883 the Italian Saint Dom Bosco prophesied its existence, predicting that at the 15th parallel south of the equator milk and honey would flow and a new city would be born. It is doubtful, though, that he foresaw the swarm of “apostates” of the most esoteric creeds, who believe Brasília to be Ground Zero come the Rapture: along with all the usual faiths, Rosacruscians, Zoroastrians, Spiritists, Masons, the entire array of Afro-Brazilian religions, and some cults I suspect are unique to this area¹⁶ have houses of worship in and around Brasília. On April 21, 1960, the city was inaugurated even though unfinished.¹⁷ Governance began the following day.

Today, Brasília has just over 2,300,000 inhabitants (metro São Paulo has over 20,000,000, while metro Rio de Janeiro has approximately 13,000,000). The Pilot Plan, designed for 500,000, has approximately 200,000. Before 1957, both figures were effectively 0. Thus, in approximately 50 years 2.3 million people have migrated to this particular point on the map, a point that itself did not appear on any maps prior to construction of the capital. In other words, about one of every 90 Brazilians either relocated here or was born here in under half a century. This incredible one-way flow shows no signs of ebbing.

What drew so many to Brasília was, to borrow from Ernst Bloch’s magnum opus, the principle of hope.¹⁸ For many it has been a symbol of a better life, the chance of not just finding work, but of survival. Fleeing the perennially impoverished, drought-afflicted

¹⁶ Such as a group who believe that great lizard-men colonized the earth.

¹⁷ As of this writing construction of the original design is on-going.

¹⁸ Ernst Bloch. *Das Prinzip Hoffnung* (translated as *The Principle of Hope*, though a closer rendering would be *Hope, the Principle*). 3 volumes.

interior of the Northeast, they have come in hopes of living that which was promised by Juscelino Kubitschek (“JK”). One way of appreciating the source of this hope is via a summary of some of the chief discourses, motivations, and intentions that surrounded Brasília’s construction.

It was the utopian drive explicit in the design of Brasília that inspired André Malraux, writer, friend and aid to Gen. Charles de Gaulle, and France’s Minister of Culture 1959-1969, to proclaim during a visit to the construction site of the new capital in 1959 that Brasília was, for all, the “capital of hope.”¹⁹ This epithet was much cherished; when used now, the tone is ironic, for it recalls a time of euphoria, when people had hopes the new capital would live up to its promise. So great were expectations and desires and so costly was the experiment, that criticism was censured for some time (Bicca 1985: 104 *et passim*). Even after a second *abertura*, or opening,²⁰ the polemic continues between the critics and the apologists.

Capital of Hope

Brasília was to be a new beginning, or better, a constellation of beginnings—the beginning of a new Brazil, a new nation, a new people, a new era, a new state, a new capital. From the standpoint of the federal government, Brasília’s purpose was to house the government and facilitate governance. It was projected as an administrative city. For

JK, Brasília would project Brazil into the future. His *Plano de Metas* (“Plan of Goals”),

¹⁹ Tamanini 2003b: 345-62 contains the text of his speech in both French and Portuguese.

²⁰ The *abertura* refers to the opening of the Brazilian political arena and the press in the final years of the dictatorship. Here I mean to say that at some point, what I refer to as the second *abertura*, it became acceptable to criticize Brasília.

in which he famously pronounced his intention of accomplishing for Brazil in five years what would ordinarily require 50, outlined a program of development that, by changing patterns of industrialization and moving the capital, would modernize Brazil. Once up to speed with industrialized countries, Brazil would in turn, via Brasília, become a model of the new era for the whole world.

The idea of moving the capital off of the coast goes back to the first constitution drawn up in 1889. It was seen as necessary to the opening up of the country to development (through exploitation of vast natural resources). Economic movement was almost exclusively concentrated on the coast, which made development of interior cities nearly impossible. Stagnant regions threatened national unity, and the argument that the germ of secession would originate in Goiás (the state that today entirely surrounds the Federal District) was advanced. Migration to the big cities had turned the Northeast into a labor pool for the Southeast, and Brasília was seen as a “wall” that would turn the migratory tide, retaining human resources in the interior. The migration would provide the workforce that the project would require.

It was hoped that putting the capital in the country’s center would shield government from outside pressure, in effect creating an administrative island surrounded by a sea of uninhabited land. With the seat of federal government in Rio de Janeiro, a populous center of economic and financial activity, legislators were too vulnerable to the interests of the rich and powerful. Thus, historically sedimented social injustices tended to be reproduced rather than resolved. At a remove from what is known as the Rio-São

Paulo axis,²¹ it was thought that the new capital would be able to better attend to the needs of the interior. Concomitantly, though clearly of less currency as public, populist discourse, it was believed that decreased general access would diminish protest and pressure from public interest groups, who would have much farther to journey in a country where travel can be prohibitively costly, as well as risky.²² The military dictatorship that installed itself in Brasília in 1964 certainly considered this advantage in its plans (Nunes 2004: 70).

The thesis of national unity was a crucial aspect of JK's argument. The image of a new capital that belonged to everyone would

affect the symbolic constructions of the average Brazilian, principally of the rural man with little schooling, who [would] suddenly feel himself an agent in the construction of the nation. Entire populations, who until then had been entirely on the margins of the great social processes, would come to participate in a grandiose project that would involve the whole country.²³ (Nunes 2004: 69).

By organizing the foundational dates of the new city within a constellation of historically and mythically important events, JK drew parallels between himself, Brazil's

²¹ This phrase is used in nearly all fields of activity, from politics, to economics, infrastructure, sports, and the arts. It refers to the preferential flow of resources between these two cities, as if along the same connecting highway that moves more people than any other in the country.

²² The construction of a decorative moat in front of the legislature and the placement of a barrier in front of the ramp leading to the executive branch—both acts counter to the original design—demonstrate this desire to keep the public at bay.

²³ Original reads: “... interferir nas construções simbólicas do brasileiro médio, principalmente no interiorano de pouca escolaridade, que subitamente sente-se agente do processo de construção da nação. Populações inteiras, que até então estavam completamente à margem dos grandes processos sociais, passam a participar de um projeto grandioso, que envolve o país todo.”

“discoverer” Cabral, the revolutionary independence leader Tiradentes, and Romulus and Remus (!); and he placed the founding of Brasília as the most recent point on a timeline beginning with Rome, and passing through the discovery and founding of Brazil, and the first independence movement. The establishment of a new capital and city was thus legitimated in history and cosmology.²⁴ The following excerpt from a song of the period makes the comparison between JK and Cabral explicit:

“As Metas do Presidente” (“The Goals of the President”)

By Alarico da Cunha²⁵

Homenagem ao Exmo. Senhor Presidente Juscelino Kubitscheck de Oliveira

Homage to His Excellency Sir President Juscelino Kubitscheck de Oliveira

O imortal Juscelino, o patriota integral,

Oh immortal Juscelino, the complete patriot,

Dia e noite a lutar, numa eterna vigília,

Day and night fighting in eternal vigilance,

Em quatro anos somente, esse novo Cabral,

In only four years, this new Cabral,

²⁴ Among the strategies employed to win the support of the public and politicians was the appropriation of historical dates, personalities and events. JK celebrated the founding of Brasília on May 3, 1957, with a first mass. That act on that date recalled and reenacted the founding of Brazil on the same date in 1500 with Pedro Álvares Cabral’s first mass in the New World. Five months later, on October 1, 1957, the date for Brasília’s inauguration was established with the passage of Law 3272, decreeing April 21, 1960, as said date. This day is also the Day of Tiradentes, the leader of the failed independence movement known as the Inconfidência Mineira (Holston 1989: 201). Tiradentes and JK hailed from the same region of Brazil, the present state of Minas Gerais (a significant fact given the importance of region in the identity of Brazilians). It is also one of the traditional dates of the founding of Rome, which the Italian government commemorated with a gift to Brasília of a free-standing column carrying the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, placed in front of the Municipal Administration Building. April 22 is celebrated as the Day of Discovery of Brazil, when Cabral made landfall on the Brazilian coast in 1500 (Holston 1989: 326 n.6).

²⁵ Taken from Palencia 1997.

Descobriu, aplainou e edificou Brasília.

Discovered, smoothed, and edified Brasília.

Newspaper and magazine advertisements of the time show how companies exploited the analogies JK wove into his plan for the transfer of the capital. They emphasize the newness of Brasília and its power of renewal for the whole country. “Here begins a new Brazil!—Rupturita Explosives Incorporated (a pioneer in the explosives industry)”; “Brasília: The dawn of a new era—Bimetal Incorporated”; and Phillips Petroleum announced that with Brasília “Brazil sees realized the dream of the *Inconfidentes* and the Ideal of the Republicans.”²⁶ Company tag lines iterated the analogizing of Brasília with Brazilian myth and history: “Brasília realizes the dream of Dom Bosco” and “fulfills the discovery of Brazil.” The most telling of all is a 1960 advertisement for Brazilian Esso Petroleum: a line and shade illustration of a construction worker, who says, “Buddy . . . I made this city! I mean, I didn’t build the whole thing, but I helped out a lot.” The narrative follows:

Just like him, thousands of other “candangos” . . . thousands of new bandeirantes pride themselves for having built Brasília. Each one contributed with his share of know-how, talent, and labor to realize this beautiful Brazilian dream. Today Brasília opens its doors to the world and sings her glory. But the glory that remains belongs to the Brazilian “candangos”—from the administrators and technicians to the laborers. . . . Brazilian Esso Petroleum has stood side by side

²⁶ *Inconfidentes*: Tiradentes’ fighters, also known as Republicans. Their rebellion was crushed in 1789.

with these men since the first moment. And they helped us build the first gas station in Brasília—pioneer in a land of pioneers—Tiradentes Esso Service Station, inaugurated on April 21, 1959 by President Juscelino Kubitschek.²⁷ (Holston 1989: 208, 212).

The transfer of the capital and the construction of a city expressly for the federal government, once placed within a geographic and social discourse of national unity, were projected as essential for the safeguarding of democracy. Affirming democracy was a central aspect of the reconstruction of the nation, which until 1956 had oscillated between military dictatorship and constitutional democracy during its 67-year history as an independent republic. There was a feeling that Brasília embodied democracy and the will of the people, and that preventing its creation would open the doors to the return of the military or an authoritarian regime: “stop Brasília and a military dictatorship will implant itself in the Country” (Mario Pedrosa, quoted in Bicca 1985: 106). The subsequent monumentalization of the branches and institutions of government were physical symbols of the power of democracy. The advent of a 21-year-long dictatorship in 1964 buried hopes that the new capital could safeguard democracy. Politics are a central aspect of the story of Brasília and, as we will see in Chapter 3, its rock scene.

²⁷ The terms *candango* and *bandeirante* are discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Briefly, the former is a term used to describe a) someone involved in the construction of Brasília, and 2) someone from Brasília. The latter is the name of the bounty hunters and explorers who opened up the country’s interior beginning in the late 1600s.

Looking back on this period, Brasília and the “new Brazil” was a project that purported not only to reach out to embrace all Brazilians, but also to reach forward into the future. It was a watershed moment in Brazilian history,

a new division in the waters of our history: *before and after Brasília*. Thus, the proposal to move the capital incorporates itself in the national imaginary and is conflated with the construction of a new nation that from it would emerge, above all because it recalled the primordial images of conquest and foundation present in the Brazilian imaginary (Oliveira, qtd. in Nunes 2004: 66).

In thesis the city belonged to no one and, therefore, to all. In the words of one pioneer, “We didn’t worry about who was who, because everyone came from somewhere else. No one was from there”²⁸ (Oliveira 2005: 253). An aura of solidarity was germinated in the mixing of people of different social strata on construction sites, in dormitories, refectories, and in bars. This solidarity was reinforced by the collective enduring of difficulties of transportation, commerce, and communication with the outside world, whose constant gaze conveyed a sense of specialness, as the pioneers participated in the greatest Brazilian project of the modern era, proceeding at breakneck pace and requiring “110%” of everyone to meet JK’s deadline of April 21, 1960. Tales from the construction site gave legs to the story that Brasília was a place where everyone was equal, where utopia was not just a dream. JK’s frequent visits to the work sites and his interactions with the workers (“he ate meat with us, hugged everybody, and said we

²⁸ Original reads: “[A] gente não se preocupava em saber quem era o outro porque todos tinham vindo de fora. Ninguém tinha nascido ali.”

shouldn't wash our hands to greet him"²⁹) were totally unprecedented in political history. People heard that he arrived unaccompanied by security and ("he talked with the workers . . . if a worker wanted to talk to him, he went there and talked"³⁰). The myths of social equality and the site's heterogeneity, seen as a leveling influence on social interactions, were among the strongest to surround the construction and settlement of Brasília.

JK established the state enterprise Novacap (Companhia Urbanizadora da Nova Capital do Brasil) in 1956, directed by Israel Pinheiro, to conduct the construction and administer the city's affairs until inauguration. Along with drawing up blueprints, coordinating the construction phases, and organizing the goods and services needed by the crews, Novacap was charged with recruiting and supervising construction personnel, procuring materials, and running the workers' camps (including maintaining law and order). In order to recruit the civil servant population, JK established the Grupo de Trabalho de Brasília (GTB).

The salient aspect of this bifurcate recruitment strategy is the subsequent, differential apportionment of privileges regulating who could live in the city. Housing in the Pilot Plan was planned for 500,000—but it would not be distributed on anything like a first-come-first-served basis. Rather, rights to residence were granted according to criteria reflective of class status. "Class," in this case, does not correlate with the kinds of capital on which it is frequently based, such as economic or educational. Instead, as

²⁹ Oliveira 2005: 252. Original reads: ". . . ele comeu carne com a gente, abra, ou todo mundo e pediu que não lavássemos a mão para cumprimentá-lo."

³⁰ Oliveira 2005: 252. Original reads: ". . . ele chegava lá e conversava com os trabalhadores e tudo . . . Se o trabalhador queria falar com ele, ia lá e falava."

discussed in the previous section, class in inaugural Brasília was of a social order founded on an individual's employment sector: administrative, construction, or merchant. Only those persons destined to work in administration were assigned housing within the Pilot Plan. This sector corresponded to GTB's recruits, whatever their level, be it "minister or motorist." Novacap's workers were not given housing within the Pilot Plan. Throughout construction, they were billeted in temporary camps, one of which was sited precisely where the lake would "go"; following construction, at least a third of migrants would, it was assumed, vanish to elsewhere. This assumption was either myopic or contradictory, as Holston rightly points out, given the knowledge that construction would continue well beyond inauguration (1989: 204). The Pilot Plan was barely habitable in aborning Brasília.

Novacap's workers included unskilled workers, engineers, architects, agriculturalists, administrators of Novacap itself, and the merchants who ran the stores from which everyone bought their materials, foodstuffs, clothing, etc. The GTB was similarly a congeries of the many and various professions inhering in large bureaucracies, from custodians and chauffeurs to congressmen and their clerks. While GTB recruits were given apartments within the Pilot Plan, irrespective of occupation, Novacap recruits occupied what became the satellite cities. It is here we see the seeds of the structural separation, which I shall refer to below as the socio-spatial homology, that characterizes Brasília. In a city conceived for bureaucracy, the organizing principle was service to the State. GTB recruits, the first of Brasília's *funcionários públicos* ("civil servants"), were

seen as essential to the eventual functioning of the State, hence of greater status than Novacap's recruits. The fact that the latter participated in the creation of Brasília (thus too serving the State), yet were denied the right to inhabit the city, affirms a prejudice, prevalent in much of modern society, that derogates those deemed ancillaries, auxiliaries, or adjuncts, despite the centrality of their role. All were heroic "pioneers" according to JK's discourse of national unity; in practice some pioneers were, in Orwellian fashion, "more heroic than others." Today's residents of the satellite cities continue in large numbers to act as auxiliaries to the functioning of the Pilot Plan, though in different capacities.

The right to housing is more than merely being granted property; if the infrastructure and general functioning of the Pilot Plan were meager at inauguration, they were by and large nonexistent in the sprouting satellite cities. One of the byproducts of this differential—I would say inequitable—treatment of the two populations regarding living conditions is that Novacap's workers formed political organizations to fight for the creation of decent and habitable cities. In most every case it was through determination, resistance and political strategizing that the satellite cities were built and in time provided with plumbing, power, and pavement. The government used diverse tactics to disrupt the settlements, including the razing of homes and stores and the forced removal of entire families. The politicization of marginalized populations will have repercussions in the activities of rockers to improve their communities, discussed in Chapter 5.

Upon arrival on the construction site, everyone was a Brazilian with certain social status. Upon entering the capital, status differences were leveled and local citizenship was configured upon radically different criteria. Traditional classes were shuffled into a new order, and a hierarchy obtained despite Costa and Niemeyer's utopian intentions. Uneven material distribution conducted a social division that would set the stage for the enduring inequality amongst Brasília's residents. It begot a rent in this nascent society that, though initially predicated on a different system of prejudices, in time followed and affirmed more traditional class division.

Brasília as Modernist Utopia

From an airplane the city looks like an airplane, flying into the east.³¹ This design was the symbolic rendering in shape of Brasília's, and metonymically, Brazil's modernity: hope and promise, science and industry, the future incarnate in the present. It also depicts the cosmopolitanism of the era—one of high-speed travel over great distances. The wings of the airplane are the residential areas—South Wing and North Wing. The fuselage is where the governmental and administrative buildings sit. Where the cockpit would be one finds the three branches of Brazil's presidential government: the twin towers and chambers of the bicameral legislature, the federal supreme court, and the offices of the president, the Palace of the Plateau. The Palace of the Dawn, the

³¹ All historically important points lie to the east: the Atlantic, on whose coast the first two capitals were established; Portugal, metropole to colonial Brazil; France, the cultural mecca for Brazil's clerisy in the 19th and early 20th centuries; Angola, one of the most important sources of the nation's African heritage; the Soviet Union, socio-political inspiration for Brasília's designers; the Vatican and Jerusalem, current and historic religious foci for the world's largest Catholic country. The eastern horizon also metaphorically symbolized the dawning of the new Brazil and of a new era.

president's residence, sits a little farther east and slightly north, on the bank of the great man-made lake, Lake Paranoá. On the far banks of the lake, in the neighborhoods North Lake and South Lake, sit single-family residences.

But all around the airplane, at removes of between five and fifty kilometers sit the satellite cities. They, plus the scattered shanties, form a halo of largely substandard living. As I have mentioned, Brasília was planned for employees of the federal administration only; all others, including those involved in its construction, were meant to live elsewhere or go back whence they came. When this plan proved unviable, the satellite cities were built. One of the city's crucial, formational features is this geographic and social separation, and its relationship to the rock scene is a key theme of this dissertation. These cities began as "invasions," or pitched battles for land rights by denizens of what the city intended to be temporary settlements. In some cases, as in Núcleo Bandeirante, formerly Cidade Livre (Free City), they were programmed as billets for construction workers and to be demolished at a later time. In other cases, they began as spontaneous irruptions, settlements of a few families that steadily grew. One such "invasion" of public land (all of Brasília is, nominally, public land) that appears to be gaining a foothold is Varjão, recently included in the 2000 census and regularly appearing in Brasília's main broadsheet, the *Correio Braziliense*. These cities do not appear on tourist itineraries; many of the Pilot Plan's residents have never been to them and could not tell you how to get to them.

Brasília has been called a Euclidean city. It is geometrically limpid, coherent,

unambiguous, explicit, graceful. Le Corbusier, spiritual mentor to Costa and Niemeyer, called Euclid and Pythagoras “the modern engineers: heroes, instructors” (1986: 127). Niemeyer and Costa’s attempts to erode traditional distinctions between public/collective and private/individual spaces to “neutralize” (in Costa’s terminology) social distinction based on wealth have made of the Pilot Plan an urban environment of great spaces, flowing parallel highways, and standardized, largely uniform, repetitious constructions. In usual Brazilian cities, streets, squares, and neighborhoods are named after important local personalities and events. In Brasília names speak to a universality, a global applicability, a final rending of what I think of as the “toposocial” fabric—the web that enfolds a place and a people in a cocoon of sentiment, memory, and belonging. Subdivision names like “Pilot Plan,” “South Wing” and “Octagonal,” and road names like “Monumental Axis” and “West 3” (“W3”—even though the letter “w” is not native to Portuguese, a curiosity that suggests the non-Brazilianness of the system) are purely denotative, and have nothing to do with either *this* time or place. “Instructions” for “using” the city are encoded into the road names and addresses and appear as compensation for the absence of connotative specificity.

In designing Brasília, Costa’s influences were largely modernist and functionalist, which call for a radical, use-based definition and demarcation of space that the sector system exemplifies. Taylorism, or scientific management, and Le Corbusier’s apothegmatic view of the city as “a machine for living in” underpin this approach—the dividing of the city into discrete sectors and the *a priori* planning of all activity would

make, in theory, things work better and residents happier. The homology between form and function becomes evident in the bewildering array of sectors into which the city is subdivided, each designated by an abbreviation. Here are some examples: SHIN (Sector for Individual Housing North), SMDB (Sector for Dom Bosco Mansions), SHCAOS (Sector for Collective Housing – Octagonal Area South), SRP (Sector for Public Recreation), SMU (Sector for Urban Military), SIN (Sector for Inflammables), SEN (Sector for Embassies North), SBO (Sector for Woods), SDS (Sector for Entertainment South), SGCV (Sector for Garages and Concession of Vehicles), SCTS (Sector for Culture South), SAIN (Sector for Isolated Areas North), SGAS (Sector for Large Areas South), SRTN (Sector for Radio and Television North), SPP (Sector for the Presidential Palace), SIG (Sector for Graphic Industries), SAUN (Sector for Autarkies North), SBN (Sector for Banks North), SAAN (Sector for Storage and Filling North), SMHS (Sector for Medical Hospitals South), SHS (Sector for Hotels South)

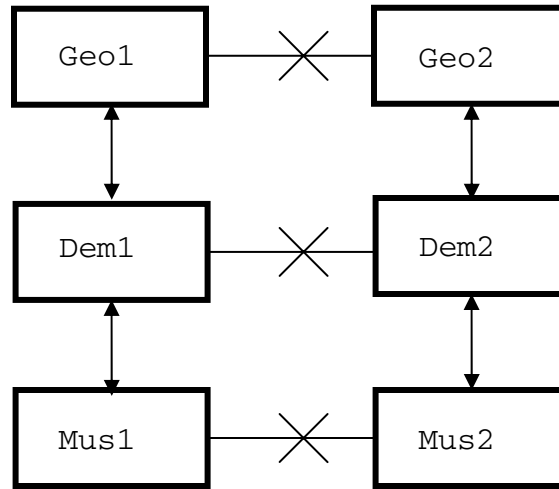
The Socio-Spatial Homology

Spatial Syntax Theory is a method of interpreting place through an analysis of the configuration of space (“syntax”) and its relationship to the meaning of constructions (“semantics”). In his syntactical analysis of Brasília, Frederico de Holanda reports two findings relevant to this discussion: 1) Modern urbanism features low rates of ground occupation, which he calls the “rarefaction of the urban fabric,” through, among other factors, great spatial discontinuity. Spatial discontinuities result in greater distances,

higher transportation costs, and poorer mass transit. 2) “There is co-variation between . . . patterns of human settlements and divisions of gender, social class, dominators and dominated” (Holanda 2003: 26). He posits that societies of greater inequality have invested in the maximization of open space over total area of settlement. Brasília shows this correspondence: in terms of resource distribution it is one of the most unequal cities in Brazil, itself eighth among nations according to the UN’s 2005 Human Development Report.

Brasília shows a socio-spatial homology. I use “homology” here to mean a correspondence between elements of multiple different organizational categories. The categories in question are geography (“Geo”), and demography (“Dem”). The elements of the first are space and relative location, while those of the second are the quality of life elements outlined in tables 1-6 below. The categories show internal coherence of quality among their elements; the external correlation between the categories reveals their correspondence also to be of quality. Analysis of music (in chapters 3-5) demonstrates a deepening of the homology, as musical styles produced and consumed (“Mus”) correspond to geography and demography.

Figure 1: Homologies



When the homology is rendered schematically, two kinds of correspondences become visible: a) between the analytical categories themselves, and b) between the relationships between the categories. Rendered logically, we see:

a) Geo1:Dem1:Music1 :: Geo2:Dem2:Mus2

and

b) Geo1:Geo2 :: Dem1:Dem2 :: Mus1:Mus2

These correspondences translate like this: a) within the spaces defined by Geo1, namely the Pilot Plan and North and South Lakes, inhabitants enjoy a relatively homogeneous lifestyle and adhere to a certain set of social relationships, and a certain set of musical styles are produced and consumed, which in general correspond to more mainstream

rock.³² The same follows for Geo2, which stands for the satellite cities, while Dem2 represents a standard of living less homogeneous than Dem1, but still correspondent, and Mus2 represents underground rock. In b), we see that just as the relationship between Geo1 and Geo2 is more or less one of exclusivity, so it is between Dem1 and Dem2, and Mus1 and Mus2.

These correspondences make more sense when attention is paid not to exceptions, but to patterns of similarity. I am not suggesting that no one in Geo1 listens to or makes music found in Geo2, nor that no one in Geo2 enjoys a standard of living equal to that of Geo1. Indeed, some of the following testimonies show that such a claim would be false. But as the speakers themselves indicate, homologous correspondences are the tendencies, some of which show signs of weakening, while others seem to be gaining strength.

The existence of the socio-spatial homology functions such that people's quality of life in Brasília, the city's urban design, and musical expression tend to reinforce one other. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, it is a divided city—the spatial discontinuities Holanda observed in the urban fabric match tears I have observed in the social fabric. Let's take a comparative look at the Pilot Plan ("PP") and a cross section of satellite cities through recent census data related to salaries, material wealth, education, jobs, and "racial" identity.

Table 1 shows average gross monthly income (2004), per family and per capita, in both in Brazilian Reals (R\$) and in multiples of the minimum salary (MS), the minimum

³² Kinds of music other than rock are made, but they fall beyond the scope of the present dissertation.

legal monthly wage. As of April 1, 2006, the MS was R\$350.00. It was due to increase to R\$384.00 a year later. When the figures below were recorded, it was R\$260.00.³³ The final number is the RA's overall ranking among all 26 RAs and one *invasão* ("invasion") that has not been officially incorporated). In this and the following tables, "PP" designates the Pilot Plan.^{34 35}

³³ According to <http://www.portalbrasil.net/salariominimo.htm>. Because of the fluctuations in the value of the Real against "hard currencies" like the US Dollar, the differences between the minimum monthly salary in 2000 and in 2006 are not entirely apparent. The minimum monthly salary is established by law and changes with inflation, and it is a figure on which others are based, such as social security pay-outs. Thus, it provides for a good comparison figure when trying to measure absolute change in cost of living.

³⁴ Figures taken from the *Pesquisa Distrital por Amostra de Domicílios PDAD*, "Tabelas (1)," 2004: p. 5.

³⁵ Just to be clear, the "PP" here includes South Wing and North Wing, Vila Planalto and Vila Telebrasil, but not the adjacent but distinct RAs Cruzeiro, Southwest or Octagonal.

Table 1

Item	DF	PP	Gama	Taguatinga	Ceilândia	Guará	South Lake
Per Family (R\$)	2332	5026	1558	2493	1211	3186	11,276
Per Family (MS)	9.0	19.3	6.0	9.6	4.7	12.3	43.4
Per Capita (R\$)	625	1770	404	661	323	852	2798
Per Capita (MS)	2.4	6.8	1.6	2.5	1.2	3.3	10.8
Ranking	---	5	14	9	18	7	1

Table 2 gives an idea of both relative purchasing power of inhabitants in different parts of the city and the ideas of material consumption habits. The numbers represent percentages of families that in 1997 did NOT possess said item/possessed MORE THAN ONE of said item³⁶:

Table 2

Item	PP	Gama	Taguatinga	Ceilândia	Guará	South Lake
Car	13.7/44.2	62.2/6.2	42.4/18.7	62.7/4.8	26.5/31.0	7.6/77.3
Dishwasher	66.3/0.1	97.7/0.0	97.7/0.1	98.1/0.0	85.6/0.1	39.57/0.0
Washing Machine	N/A	66.8/0.0	66.8/0.6	75.0/0.2	26.2/1.2	6.7/3.5
Microwave	41.2/0.4	92.9/0.1	80.3/0.1	93.9/0.0	69.7/0.0	14.0/1.0
Computer	53.7/3.0	94.2/0.1	87.2/0.3	96.6/0.1	76.7/0.8	30.9/13.7
Cable TV	44.6/5.3	93.4/0.2	78.8/1.0	N/A	62.9/2.2	24.8/10.8
Stereo	4.6/39.3	15.6/5.5	13.4/14.0	18.3/25.7	7.7/25.7	2.2/67.8

In Table 3, from 2004, possession of three items is expressed in positive percentages. Thus, the number is the percentage of families that HAVE the item.³⁷

³⁶ Figures taken from *Pesquisa de Informações Sócio-Econômicas das Famílias do Distrito Federal-PISEF/DF/97*, "Posse de bens da população," 1997. Available at <http://www.sucar.df.gov.br/ras/regioes.htm>.

³⁷ Figures taken from the *Pesquisa Distrital por Amostra de Domicílios PDAD*, "Pesquisa domiciliar," 2004: pp. 41-2.

Table 3

Item	DF	PP	Gama	Taguatinga	Ceilândia	Guará	South Lake
Computer	31.6	67.7	24.8	40.1	17.3	49.2	86.5
Internet	22.6	59.8	12.8	25.6	8.5	30.5	82.4
Mob. Phone	74.2	92.8	77.9	84.3	70.3	86.8	97.4

Table 4

Item	DF	PP	Gama	Taguatinga	Ceilândia	Guará	South Lake
Illiterate ³⁸	3.3	0.5	4.5	1.9	4.2	1.3	0.3
College completed	9.3	29.4	5.2	10.1	1.9	14.0	49.2

Table 4 shows basic educational information for the same regions.³⁹ What we see is a correlation between all resources (income, material wealth, access to media, and information) and education level. Also apparent is the *inverse* relationship between availability of resources and axuality, meaning that the areas that concentrate resources are not the most accessible. South Lake, the wealthiest of all areas measured, is in fact terribly inconvenient to transit without a car. (Furthermore, military police roadblocks stationed on the connecting bridges between South Lake and the other neighborhoods create another kind of barrier.)

The figures in Table 5 show the number of inhabitants, jobs, and the ratio of the two.⁴⁰

³⁸ Unable to read or write except for own name.

³⁹ *Pesquisa Distrital por Amostra de Domicílios PDAD*, “Tabelas (1), 2004: p. 13.

⁴⁰ Figures in Holanda 2003: 52, except for Taguatinga’s population, from http://www.sucar.df.gov.br/ras/03_taguatinga/09.htm. Most population figures from 2004 were lower than 2000; total DF showed a change of +45,000, the Pilot Plan stayed level, Gama changed -18,000, Taguatinga -20,000, Ceilândia -12,000, Guará -1500, and South Lake -4000. My interpretation is that losses reflect the reapportionment of territory into new RAs during intervening years. Other possibilities are changes in data collection and/or calculation methods.

Table 5

Item	DF	PP	Gama	Taguatinga	Ceilândia	Guará	South Lake
Inhabitants	2,051,146	198,422	130,580	243,575	344,039	115,385	28,137
Jobs	733,960	555,369	5,773	N/A	24,000	72,473	11,228
Demand Ratio (persons/job)	2.79	.36	22.62	N/A	14.33	1.59	2.51

Here we see that jobs are most plentiful per capita in the symbolic and functional center, the Pilot Plan. As mentioned above, the satellite cities provide the Pilot Plan with a source of labor for all sectors, continuing as “dormitory cities” for many workers. The demand ratio is much higher in Gama and Ceilândia than in the DF as a whole, and these are precisely the areas where resources are the scarcest. South Lake maintains a demand ratio higher than that of the Pilot Plan, but the reason is now the opposite of that in the satellite cities. Most of Brasília’s financially successful inhabitants work as government functionaries or owners of business; the former will work almost exclusively in the Pilot Plan, while the latter may work in the Pilot Plan or in South Lake, and on occasion in one of the satellite cities or in a rural area in the surrounding state of Goiás. In either case, jobs for the wealthy are not necessarily located in South Lake; and as the vast disparity of wealth revealed in the above charts generates social instability, at times resulting in crime, its inhabitants see maintaining poor people at a distance as a form of security. Proximity to the poor is structurally necessary for residents of the Pilot Plan (it being the location of most of the jobs); consequently, the latter seek security through other means, including apartment blocos with doormen, cameras, police presence, roaming security,

limited public transportation, hedges, fences, grates, alarms, lighting, and language (e.g. a sign on a door reads “Do NOT Enter”).⁴¹

Table 6 shows “declared color or race” in the RAs surveyed. Over the years the census categories have changed, with categories being combined to simplify the process of self-definition. At one time the “mixed-race” category *parda/mulata* contained myriad sub-categories such as “coffee with milk.” The self-categorization aspect means that an individual’s response will imply subjective evaluations not limited to appearance. Two examples to demonstrate: Soccer star Ronaldo “Phenomenon,” son of a (self-declared) black father and *mestiço* mother, declared himself white⁴²; in 2000 a friend received a census-taker at her door who, looking at her, said “White, right?” to which, indignant, she replied, “*Morena!*”

⁴¹ Social position is of paramount importance in the establishment of value of the individual to society, and occupation is one indicator of station. Work is a mode by which, or a type of credential with which, people may claim the social privileges of their economic class. Whether the work is actually done is not always of relevance; it seems to be the case that many times appearances count as much as performance. Given the social and symbolic importance of work, the access and barriers to employment should be regarded as formative of relationships between individuals, the community, and place. Patterns of flow of people going to and from work could reveal facets of their ontology as members of society. Such “syntactical analysis” of commutes or of work habits is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but the correspondences, on the one hand, between access to work and material comfort and, on the other, between economic and social capital are not difficult to discern in Brasília.

⁴² See: <http://www.midiaindependente.org/es/blue/2005/05/317716.shtml>. The irony is that he is listed in the *Enciclopédia Brasileira da Diáspora Africana*, compiled by sambista and samba historian Nei Lopes, as black. In an (un)related incident, Pelé allegedly declared his child white on the latter’s birth certificate.

Table 6

Category	DF	PP	Gama	Taguatinga	Ceilândia	Guará	South Lake
White	39.7	69.0	30.9	46.6	34.4	44.1	79.1
Black	4.3	3.5	5.0	3.6	5.4	3.8	3.5
Yellow ⁴³	1.8	3.7	0.2	2.7	2.6	1.0	0.7
Parda/Mulata ⁴⁴	47.5	21.7	50.0	46.9	48.8	48.4	16.4
Indigenous ⁴⁵	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.1
Undefined ⁴⁶	6.4	2.1	13.6	0.1	8.5	2.6	0.1

The data reveal decisively sociological trends, rather than biologically based notions of self and other.⁴⁷ My observations are in accordance with the table, which shows that lighter skinned individuals prevail in the Pilot Plan and South Lake and darker skinned ones in the satellite cities, and in the DF as a whole.⁴⁸ These terms/categories are subjective.

Taking all the data together, we see that resources and jobs are less plentiful in the satellite cities, setting up a correlation between social class and subjective notions of self,

⁴³ “For the person who categorizes self as yellow, of Japanese, Chinese, Korean, etc. origin.”

⁴⁴ “For the person who categorizes self as mulata, cabocla, cafuza, mameluco, or mestiço of black with another color or race.”

⁴⁵ “For the person who categorizes self as indigenous or declares self as indian.”

⁴⁶ This means that the person wished to remain uncategorized.

⁴⁷ Race and color are demographic and socio-historic issues that are subjectively treated and experienced differently in Brazil from in the United States, and one must be conscious of assumptions based on US models (See Telles 2004 for a study on differences between US and Brazilian models of race). If these go unchecked, the researcher or visitor will make specious interpretations. One crucial difference is that at least since Gilberto Freyre’s championing of the genetic *mestiçagem* (“miscegenation”) that comprises Brazilian society, the *moreno* (“brown,” i.e. mixed individual) has been the emblem of *brasilidade* (“Brazilianness”)—the *Carnaval*-time images of samba queens illustrate this. Being identified as a “moreno” rather than of the extremes has been profoundly comforting, and is related to the overall tendency to seek middle ground for safety and company. On the other hand, magazines, billboards and television programs send the message that beauty and power are attributes intrinsic to the lighter-skinned.

⁴⁸ Figures taken from the *Pesquisa Distrital por Amostra de Domicílios PDAD*, “Pesquisa domiciliar,” 2004: pp. 83, 159.

where the holders of economic advantage tend to identify themselves as lighter on the sliding “chromodermic” scale of Brazilian race/color/ethnicity.

Capital of Hope: Conclusion

As Nunes points out (2004: 53), architecture and the architect are synonymous with the political elite in Brazil, and though the architects are usually on the Left, they find themselves in the service of the rich and powerful, provoking confusion.⁴⁹ It is difficult to find coherence between ideology/discourse and practice. Costa, despite intentions to build a city that would level social difference, did not adequately prepare the city to accommodate the builders, nor the waves of migrants that followed, for he was primarily concerned with the functioning of the public sector. The DF’s population is now four times that projected by Costa for Brasília, and the only solution has been, through market speculation, to maintain a false scarcity of land within the Pilot Plan and divert the incoming population to the satellite cities. Land prices have soared, giving rise to a select urbanism, as residents lower on the economic ladder have found themselves priced out of the market. New migrants cannot afford to live in the Pilot Plan unless financially secure.

⁴⁹ I would add: architects want to be remembered; their works serve as monuments to their person; the more monumental, the greater a work’s longevity, and the longer the architect remains in public memory; the more monumental, the more money and centralized control required; the more centralized a government, the more conservative its tendency; the most centralized model is a dictatorship. Dictators, czars, emperors, pharaohs, sultans and kings are behind most of history’s monumental works, until the age of industrial capitalism made individuals rich enough to build their own monuments. Planned cities, however, require even in this age the aegis of the State. Le Corbusier, it has been suggested, wanted “more than anything” to build for Vichy France (see Bragg, et al.).

Money and influence are mass-producing: stabilizing gravity inheres within them. The accretion of ever greater volumes of money and influence to the symbolic and functional urban center have generated an accelerating centrifugal force expelling “lighter” elements from the Pilot Plan.⁵⁰ Pockets of poverty blotch the landscape out to the Entorno. Spatial segregation is a typical characteristic of Brazilian cities, and it is reproduced in Brasília more clearly than anywhere else, given the spatial demarcation resultant from the modernist design. The satellite cities Samambaia, Candangolândia, and Cruzeiro have 1516, 2135, and 6367 inhabitants per square km, respectively, compared to 433 for the Pilot Plan (2004: 167). Add satellite cities’ heightened levels of pollution and violence to this inequality, and one begins to get a picture of the situation. Immigrant labor from the Northeast, whose higher population growth and chronic poverty make it the labor supply for the rest of the country, is eventually situated in the satellite cities—whose higher rate of population growth and lack of jobs⁵¹ make it the labor supply for the Pilot Plan: A cruel irony. This population enters the Pilot Plan to work, then gets expelled at the end of the day, recreating in a daily ritual the expulsion of the *candangos* from the Pilot Plan after inauguration.

We now can discern relationships between geography, demography, and economics. The socio-spatial homology is illustrated in the census data and apparent on the streets. An unintended byproduct of UNESCO’s declaration of Brasília’s World

⁵⁰ The irony in “lighter” is that, when measuring not mass but complexion, it is the lighter elements that remain.

⁵¹ Nunes claims that the highest levels of unemployment in the country are in the satellite cities (2004: 168).

Heritage Site status has been to endorse the distribution of people in territories according to socioeconomic levels. These territories are geographic, demographic, economic, and musical. They are habitats of diverse types of knowledge that homologously map onto the city's physical shape. It is this homology and its relationship to rock that I will analyze in the following chapters.

* * * * *

Capital of Rock

Rock music and Brasília are about the same age. Little Richard recorded “Tutti Frutti” in 1955, the year the location for Brasília was chosen. The inauguration of the city in 1960 coincided with the inauguration of US congressional investigation into payola. Brasília prides itself on its rock history. In the 1980s and 1990s local rock bands like Plebe Rude, Capital Inicial, Legião Urbana, and Os Raimundos injected the national music scene with what was perceived as a sincerity, a punk edginess and a novelty for being from the capital, that earned Brasília the title “the Capital of Rock.”

Rock's symbolic importance to the city was demonstrated in its *Carnaval* celebrations of 2005. That year's theme was the city itself, and two samba schools wrote *enredos* (theme songs) honoring Brasília's rock heroes. ARUC called their theme song “A Cauldron of Cultures: From Dilermando Reis to Cássia Eller,” the latter being the late lesbian punk rocker. Aruremas paid tribute to Renato Russo, the late homosexual singer-

songwriter who led Legião Urbana. Their song was titled “Brasília, a Star That Shines with Renato Russo”:

Smile Brasília . . . /Renato Russo is in this revelry/Oh! How many songs we shall
remember/From this boy who we so admire/ . . . /In this sea of love/I will
bathe/From your beautiful garden I want a flower/Renato Russo you have not
died/Your holy verses will be made eternal.⁵² (Pereira 2004).

Renato Russo, who died of AIDS in 1996 in Rio de Janeiro, where he had gone to live in 1985 after Legião Urbana signed a contract with EMI, is this city’s greatest rock hero and one of the country’s best known musicians in rock history. Born Renato Manfredini, Jr., in Rio de Janeiro in 1960, less than a month before Brasília’s inauguration, Renato and his family moved to New York City in 1967 when his father, an employee of the Bank of Brazil, was transferred. In 1973 he was transferred again, this time to Brasília, where the family settled. Renato’s generation represents the third wave in Brazilian rock. Roberto Carlos and the Jovem Guarda began with imitations of American and English rock and roll in the 1950s, while in the late 1960s and 1970s Raul Seixas mixed Northeastern folk and rock; Gilberto Gil, Caetano Veloso, and Os Mutantes experimented with electric instruments, distortion, and psychedelic rock to make *tropicália*; Os Secos & Molhados mixed glitter rock and folkloric styles; and people like

⁵² “Sorria Brasília . . . /Que nessa noite sua estrela vai brilhar/E o “Recanto das Emas” é poema/”Renato Russo” está nessa folia/Oh! Quantas canções nós vamos recordar/Desse menino que nos faz admirar/ . . . /Neste mar de amor . . . /Eu vou me banhar/Do seu lindo jardim . . . /Eu quero uma flor/”Renato Russo” você não morreu/Seus versos santos irão de eternizar’ from the *enredo* ‘Brasília, uma estrela que brilha com Renato Russo.” Permission kindly granted by song’s author, Chico Pereira.

Tom Zé and Walter Franco invented rock-inflected forms of music unique and difficult to describe. Except for the São Paulo-based Joelho de Porco, a humorous band regarded as the pre-cursor to Brazilian punk rock, Renato's generation was the first to experiment with this the rawest of rock styles. Called the "Coca-Cola Generation" from a song of the same name he wrote with Fê Lemos while with his first band, Aborto Elétrico, and recorded on Legião Urbana's eponymously entitled first album, they experienced while still adolescents the tumultuous end of the military dictatorship, transition to democracy, and acerbic debate about national sovereignty.

"Geração Coca-Cola" ("Coca-Cola Generation")
by Legião Urbana⁵³

Quando nascemos fomos programados

When we were born we were programmed

A receber o que vocês nos empurraram

To take what you shoved on us

Com os enlatados dos U.S.A., de 9 às 6

With canned stuff from the U.S.A., from 9 to 6.

...

Somos os filhos da revolução

We're children of the revolution

Somos burgueses sem religião

We're bourgeoisies without religion

⁵³ The lyrics in their entirety can be found at many websites, including <http://cifraclub.terra.com.br/cifras/legiao-urbana/geracao-coca-cola-jgmp.html>.

Somos o futuro da nação

We're the future of the nation

Geração Coca-Cola

Coca-Cola generation

Legião went on to release eight studio discs (one double), four live albums, and one collection of hits. Several of their albums have sold more than one million copies. Renato recorded four solo albums prior to and after the band's final live appearance, in 1995.⁵⁴ His first solo recording, the 1994 *The Stonewall Celebration Concert*, was a collection of American pop songs, sung in English, and conceived of as an homage to American gay activism. Fifty percent of sales were donated to a Brazilian social activist project combating poverty and hunger.⁵⁵

Legião's enormous success is a measure of the repercussion Renato's lyrics has had on listeners. They seem to speak from both personal experience and evoke general truths. His voice is unremarkable other than for being unaffected and common, and his delivery is prosaic. You could be he, is the feeling one gets from his music. He also sang of Brasília, a fact that endeared him to local youth who had few, if any, contemporary voices singing to them about their realities. One of his most famous compositions, "Faroeste Caboclo," is a bittersweet epic poem that recounts the tragic life of an orphaned troublemaker of a boy from the rural Northeast who comes to Brasília by bus to start life

⁵⁴ The band underwent several personnel changes. The most enduring members were Renato Russo (vocal, guitar, keyboard, bass), Dado Villa-Lobos (grand-nephew of Heitor Villa-Lobos, guitar), Marcelo Bonfá (drums). Renato Rocha (bass) recorded the first three albums and participated on the fourth and on the final studio albums.

⁵⁵ Ação da Cidadania contra a Fome, a Miséria e pela Vida – <http://www.acaodacidadania.com.br/>

anew and to speak to the president on behalf of the people, only to get caught up in drug trafficking and end up betrayed, shot from behind. Renato's love songs tell stories of adolescent youth in quotidian language, emplacing their adventures in City Park, North Wing, and Taguatinga. Other songs poetically and metaphorically refer to his homosexuality. Both his sincerity and at-times bitter irony made fans feel that he was a troubadour who spoke for and about a generation that had had no mirror. Musically Legião began post-punk, sounding at times like Joy Division and early U2. Later they morphed into what could be thought of as a soft rock or folksy rock band in the US, a la Billy Joel.

Aborto Elétrico (AE), Brasília's first punk band, formed in 1978, the same year as São Paulo-based Restos de Nada.⁵⁶ Though AE never recorded (a few rehearsal recordings survive), their influence on the city's future scene was guaranteed by the two bands that arose from its ashes: Renato Russo founded Legião Urbana, while brothers Fê and Flávio Lemos (drums and bass, respectively) formed Capital Inicial. Flávio had replaced André Pretorius, son of the South African ambassador to Brazil, when he was sent back home to join the army (he later committed suicide). These two bands followed

⁵⁶ The debate over who was first goes on. Members of Restos de Nada claim that they had prior band that lasted just a few months, but the argument at heart seems to be one of legitimacy to the title of punk. Bands appear to gain or lose legitimacy over time in part as a result of the credibility of their surrounding local scene. São Paulo tends to win on this count, largely because the punk rockers from Brasília were mostly well-to-do (with the exception of some bands that appeared later in the satellite cities), while those from SP are said to have been poorer and from the periphery. In any event, the punk festival "O Começou do Fim do Mundo" ("The Beginning of the End of the World") in SP in 1982, which was a release party for a punk anthology of the same name, featuring local bands Inocentes, Olho Seco, and Cólera, established São Paulo as punk's undisputed home.

different musical paths, but both recorded songs AE had played live, such as the above mentioned “Geração Coca-Cola.”

While Legião relocated to Rio, Capital Inicial (CI) landed a lucrative contract with CBS and moved to São Paulo. The Lemos brothers, together with guitarist Loro Jones and singer Dinho Ouro-Preto, both from Brasília and graduates of local rock bands (Blitx 64 and *dado e o reino animal*, respectively) found great national success, and to this day are one of the best-selling rock bands in the country.⁵⁷ Their catalog includes 14 studio and live discs, seven compilations and two DVDs. A pop-rock band for many years now, they released an album of AE’s songs in 2005 to revisit their punk roots.

The third of Brasília’s most important 1980s rock bands was Plebe Rude. In 1981 guitarist and vocalist Philippe Seabra, who had a punk cover band with friends at the American School, joined with bassist André Mueller (a.k.a. André X), who was playing at the time in Metralhas with Marcelo Bonfá, future drummer of Legião Urbana. They needed a drummer, so they called on Gutje Worthmann, then in Blitx 64 with Loro Jones (future CI guitarist) and Chris Brenner, previously with Metralhas. When Gutje agreed to join with André X and Seabra, Metralhas folded (and Marcelo Bonfá went to Blitx 64 for a year before joining with Renato Russo in 1982 to form Legião). The vocalist Jander Bilaphra, a.k.a. Ameba, joined Plebe Rude, and over the years this quartet swelled to six and shrunk to two before dissolving in 1994. During those twelve years, Plebe Rude released four discs on EMI, including their 1985 debut disc *O Concreto Já Rachou* (The

⁵⁷ CI also experienced multiple changes in personnel. Vocalists changed three times, keyboardist Bozzo Barretti played for a period, and Yves Passarell eventually replaced Loro Jones in 2002.

Concrete Has Cracked) that went gold. EMI put out a box set in 1997, after Seabra returned to New York City, and a best-of a year later. The band would eventually re-form in 1999 with a show in Brasília at the country's largest independent music festival, the Porão do Rock (the subject of Vignette 3, below). EMI released a disc of re-recordings of old songs in 2000, and another collection in 2001. The first recording of their new formation, with Txotxa (ex-Maskavo Roots, a local, nationally successful rock-reggae band) on drums and Clemente (still with Inocentes, one of the most famous punk bands of all time in Brazil, which he founded in São Paulo in 1982 after his Restos de Nada broke up) on vocals and guitar, was independently released by Seabra's own Daybreak Studio in 2006.

The recombination of musicians within a fairly small group that occurred in these early years gave the scene the feeling of a group of schoolmates, or a coterie of friends, who listened to and played a new, unsettling kind of music. The scene was eventually referred to affectionately as the *turma*, or peer group, ironically pronounced “tchurma” to convey its exclusivity, both social and economic, for these were, in the main, middle- to upper-middle-class kids. Children of military personnel, government functionaries, university professors, diplomats, business owners, and public sector employees, they had access to cultural, social, and economic resources in the new capital that set them apart from the population living beyond the Pilot Plan. They were an example of a *panela*, a social organization structured through face-to-face contact that organizes and maintains

access to different forms of capital. *Panelas*, which exist in most arenas of Brazilian society, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

The Brasiliense bands depended on each other for penetration of the national market. The first rock band that had a connection to Brasília to find fame was the Rio-based *Paralamas do Sucesso*, still recording and performing after more than 25 years. Two of its members, Herbert Vianna (brother to anthropologist and ethnomusicologist Hermano) and Bi Ribeiro, had lived in Brasília. They moved to Rio, founded their band, and got a recording contract with EMI. Eventually they pulled their friend Renato Russo into the studio, who worked his new band *Legião Urbana* onto EMI's roster. Renato did the same for *Plebe Rude*. Other rock bands from Brasília, such as *Detrito Federal*, *Escola de Escândalo*, *Finis Africae*, and *5 Gerais* were subsequently noticed. These four bands appeared together on a collection; *Detrito Federal* eventually released a disc on PolyGram, in 1987. It was this rather sudden explosion of rock music from the capital city onto the national scene that inspired a journalist somewhere to baptize Brasília "The Capital of Rock." The city had theretofore no musical presence in the national media, so it came as a welcome surprise to an industry voracious for novelty. The industry, much smaller than its counterpart in the US, retreated from Brasiliense rock bands by the late 1980s almost as quickly as it had embraced them five years earlier, leaving those who had not signed a contract to struggle in Brasília's undeveloped mainstream or independent markets.

It seemed if Brasiliense bands' fortunes would change, when the band Os Raimundos, which started as a Ramones cover band in 1987 (their name alludes to these origins), became for a time the most popular rock band in the country. Mixing hardcore and the northeastern rhythm forró, they eventually recorded eight discs for Warner, beginning with their 1994 eponymous debut. They were able to get their friends' band Little Quail and the Mad Birds studio time at Warner and what looked like a contract on the subsidiary Banguela (started by the Titãs to find new bands), but an industry shake-up closed it down and the independent bands on its roster were orphaned. Singer-interpreter Cássia Eller, who began her career playing bars in Brasília, signed a contract in 1990 with PolyGram in São Paulo, on the back of a demo tape that featured a Renato Russo song. Her catalog includes more than 20 albums and three DVDs. In 2001 she died of cardiac arrest in a case of medical malpractice. She posthumously won Best Brazilian Rock Album in 2002 for *MTV Unplugged*. Finally, it seemed as if Brasília's last link with the wider rock world was severed with the traffic death of 37-year-old Tom Capone in Van Nuys in Los Angeles, California, on September 2, 2004. Capone had played guitar with Brasiliense rock band Peter Dinklage in the mid- to late 1980s, before relocating to Rio and opening his own recording studio, Toca do Bandido, where he engineered and produced for many of the biggest names in Brazilian music. The night he died he was returning from the Grammy ceremony, where he won awards for Best Brazilian Rock Album and Best MPB (Brazilian Popular Music) Album. He eventually won two more posthumously the following year. According to his sister Alexandra, who still lives in

Brasília and whom I interviewed for this dissertation, his funeral, locally held, brought together scores of the country's musical celebrities across multiple genres (Capone 2005).

* * * * *

Brasília's nationally successful rock bands coexisted and at times shared stages and press appearances with other big rock acts of the era, such as Paralamas, Titãs, Ira!, Barão Vermelho, Blitz, Ultraje a Rigor, Camisa de Vênus, RPM, Lobão, Lulu Santos, Sepultura, Chico Science e Nação Zumbi, Engenheiros do Hawaii, Mamonas Assassinas, and others. Today there is no nationally recognized rock band from Brasília (other than CI, who at this point have spent nearly all of their career in São Paulo) sharing the mainstream limelight with the holdovers from the 1980s and current groups like Skank, CPM22, Angra, Shaaman (formerly Shaman), Patu Fu, O Rappa, Mundo Livre S.A., Zeca Baleiro, Lenine, Ratos de Porão, and Marcelo D2. This has led many to question and even reject the title "Capital of Rock." The local newspaper *Hoje Em Dia* featured an article in its Sunday section "Caderno Brasília" asking the question "Where is the Rock?" (Medleg 2007). Local experts, some of whom I interviewed over the years, pondered the issue. Agreement that the scene is in crisis was general, though opinions as to why differed substantially. Some, like the historian Fernando Rosa, who recently released on his own Senhor F label (also the name of his on-line rock magazine) the collection of current local bands called *Terceira Onda – O Novo Rock de Brasília* ("Third Wave – The New Rock of Brasília"), argued that changes in the phonograph industry have forced

bands to promote themselves, while mainstream media outlets do not pay attention to independent bands. Producer and musician Marcelo Carvalho suggested a declining interest across the country in rock, while believing that in Brasília the rock attitude (“four or five against the world”) continues to bring young people together to start bands. Gustavo Vasconcelos, owner of the local label GRV, agreed, believing that the city is the Capital of the Rock Attitude, an attitude absolutely necessary for a band to fight for its place in the market and create, collectively, a scene. Seabra, partner in the label Senhor F, alleged poor quality on the part of the bands, while Grilo, vocalist of the metalcore band Cadabra, blamed the lack of public interest in hearing new music. Paulo Marchetti of the mid-80s and -90s punk band Filhos de Mengele and author of the only history of Brasiliense rock (albeit partial, just covering ten years and only the bands in the Pilot Plan), blamed bands’ reliance on the internet at a time when going to Rio and São Paulo remains an indispensable part of any viable success strategy.

The article, as is typical of the media based in the Pilot Plan, ignored the scene in the satellite cities. That’s where the rock is. I do not want to weigh in on the debate over the appropriateness of the Capital of Rock title, as I do not have adequate comparative data—I would need to have spent considerable time in São Paulo, Recife, Porto Alegre and Goiânia, cities reputed to have vibrant rock scenes. But in the satellite cities of Brasília and the Entorno, there are shows nearly every night of every weekend. Bands play in Gama, Sobradinho, Taguatinga, Cruzeiro, Valparaíso, Jardim Ingá, Riacho Fundo, and Ceilândia, including ones with international reputations and careers dating back to

1990 and 1991, in the case of Death Slam and Besthöven (see track 2 of the CD), respectively, and to 1984, in the case of ARD (see tracks 1 and 16). These bands are co-creators of a rock scene that has little to do with the one populated by today's headliners. Instead, they are part of a vast, disperse and vibrant underground that traces its lineage back to Brazilian bands like the punk Restos de Nada, Inocentes, Aborto Elétrico, Olho Seco, Cólera, Invasores de Cerebro, and Ratos de Porão, the metal Sepultura, and the crossover Lobotomia. The Brazilian underground's international influences are much more numerous, given these genres' origins in Europe and the United States. Punk, metal, hardcore, their crossover combinations (such as thrashcore, crustcore and grindcore), and subgenres (such as black metal, death metal, and progressive metal) have since the mid-1970s produced bands with worldwide impact like Dead Kennedys, Black Flag, Circle Jerks, Bad Brains, Upright Citizens, The Exploited, Slayer, Suicidal Tendencies, Metallica, Minor Threat, D.R.I., Agnostic Front, Varukers, Heresy, Napalm Death, Lärm, Extreme Noise Terror, and Doom. The pacifist English punk/hardcore Discharge (1977-present), for instance, has with its own "D-beat" sound⁵⁸ spawned legions of protégé-bands, many of which use "Dis-" in their name, e.g. Discarga and Disforme from Brazil (the last a band from Brasília), Japan's Disclose and Disclaim, Discider from the US, Italy's Disarm, Sweden's Disfear and Discard, and Singapore's Distrust.

Brazil's underground bands are not appearing in the media, however, for the some of the same reasons afflicting more mainstream rock bands, and in this way they are in

⁵⁸ A typical D-beat rhythm is in 4 and, where each - is a 8th note, puts the snare on ||:--x---x-:||, the kick drum on ||:x---xx--:|| and the hi-hat on ||:x-x-x-x-:||.

the same boat as any independent band, regardless of location. My own interviews elicited strong sentiments, and an undercurrent to this dissertation is a general feeling of precariousness. Juliano Lopes, drummer for ARD (as well as Besthöven, Murro no Olho, and Death Slam) and author of the fanzine *Fúria Urbana* (“Urban Fury”), called the public “scarce.” “Some [shows] are full, but they’re exceptions. The public has declined a lot”⁵⁹ (Lopes 2005). Fellipe CDC, author of the fanzines *Death Slam* and *Brasília, Fina Flor do Rock* (“Brasília, Delicate Flower of Rock”), leader/vocalist of the bands Death Slam and Terror Revolucionário (see track 13 of the CD), and underground show organizer, expounded on Juliano’s observation:

In the old days shows were much fuller. Much, much fuller. Today you have pray hard, undergo the “corn castigation” [a punishment whereby someone is forced to kneel for long periods on raw corn kernels spread on the floor], rooting for 100 people at your show so you can cover production costs and such, which are very high. So, I think [the scene] is in crisis.⁶⁰ (Sant’anna 2005a).

Paulo Mattos, bassist for Quebraqueixo (see track 11 of the CD) and owner of Betta rehearsal studio, said he thought rock in Brasília was at a dead end, or caught in a corner with no way out (*sinuca de bico*) (Mattos 2005). Phú do Guará, leader and bassist of Macakongs 2099 (see track 8 of the CD), event producer, and owner of local hardcore label Sílvia Music, has the most pessimistic outlook of all.

⁵⁹ “Alguns são até cheios, mas são exceções. O público tem caído muito.”

⁶⁰ “Antigamente os shows eram muito mais cheios. Bem mais cheios e tal. E hoje, assim, você tem que torcer muito, ficar de castigo no milho, torcendo pra dar umas cem pessoas no teu show, pra você pagar os custos e tal, que são muito altos, a produção. Então eu acho que tá em crise por causa disso aí.”

It's going to end, old man. Rock from here is going to end. In '89 it ended. Only Little Quail [and the Mad Birds] was left. It was all fighting, gossip—there was no place to play. There was no public, there wasn't shit. These days, it's happening all over again. Not that it *will* happen, it already has. . . . Just let techno take over, rock will die. . . . We're just throwing the last shovel of dirt on it. Ronan [a local producer] does his shows of cover bands and original bands, the originals shows are a zero. Cover bands turn out the crowds. So it's going to end. Dude is needy, wants to go see a cover band. Dude's afraid to discover new bands. Or to bet on the old ones. Dude no longer has any pride in the cool stuff from Brasília.⁶¹ (Phú do Guará 2005).

The *Correio Braziliense* ran an article ahead of the 2005 BMF(e), Brasília Music Fest (electronica edition) three-day mega electronica event, featuring DJs from multiple countries, asking if the city should be renamed “The Capital of Electronica.” It is not an issue taken seriously, but whether mechanical sound is threatening live music worries some.

A fiercely debated, highly polemical issue is whether cover bands are endangering original bands. When in 2005 I organized a roundtable discussion at the University of

Brasília on the subject of cover music, musicians in both cover bands and original bands

⁶¹ “Vai acabar, velho. O rock daqui vai acabar. 89, acabou. Só ficou Little Quail. Era briga, era fofoca, não tinha onde tocar. Não tinha público, não tinha porra nenhuma. Hoje em dia, já chegou. Não é que vai chegar, já chegou, a gente não quer ver, cara. . . . Deixa só o techno começar a pegar lá, o rock vai acabar. . . . Nós estamos terminando de jogar a pá de cal em cima. O Ronan ele faz os seus shows de música cover e música autoral, o autoral não dá nada. O cover dá uma galera. Então, isso vai acabar. Nego é carente, quer ver um cover. Nego tem medo de descobrir bandas novas. Ou de apostar nas velhas. Nego não tem mais orgulho pelos baratos de Brasília.”

(many in both simultaneously) filled the room to capacity. The debate lasted beyond the two hours allotted and continued in the corridors outside. The reality many rockers face—both those in the Pilot Plan and the periphery—is that they make no money playing their originals. Bars will only hire well-known original bands, yet it is very difficult to attract a following without exposure. This catch-22 makes many bands self-produce shows, or work with one of the few producers who organize rock shows for local bands, like Felipe CDC and Ronan. At these shows some five or six bands will play, and the cover charge, kept low (R\$5, or approximately US\$2.50) so people can afford it, goes to covering costs. Many rockers sustain their original bands on the money made from a cover band.

Together with Celso Salim, a blues-rock guitarist who for years played in rock cover bands here in Brasília and now living in São Paulo trying to find success with his original band, I compiled a list of over 70 cover and tribute bands in Brasília, both active and disbanded (I have since added many more). The musicians and bands covered include Jethro Tull, Pantera, Lennie Kravitz, Santana, Queen, Whitesnake, Jamiroquai, Stevie Ray Vaughan, the Ramones, Rage Against the Machine, Bob Dylan, Lynyrd Skynyrd, Twisted Sister, Nirvana, and Audioslave. Brazilian musicians covered include Cássia Eller, Raul Seixas, Gonzaguinha, Chico Science, Titãs, Elis Regina and Os Mutantes. Bands like Legião Urbana, the Wailers, Pink Floyd, Led Zeppelin, the Red Hot Chili Peppers, and Pearl Jam have inspired multiple tribute bands. Some have straightforward names, like Kiss Cover, and Clash Cover; others have punning names,

like the Doors cover band Os Poortas (*portas* means ‘doors’), the Alice in Chains cover band Alice in the Box, and the Let It Beatles.

On any given weekend the local papers may list shows of up to 20 cover bands. While original acts receive preference, some cover bands may have their promotional pictures displayed. Some hold down weekly gigs at one of the city’s few bars with enough space for bands to play. The local cover scene has existed for approximately 25 years. The most fantastic instance of dedication to the *métier* of musician-cum-mime of which I have heard was the personal project of the owner of the now defunct bar Clube do Rei (“Club of the King”), named not for Elvis, but Roberto Carlos, Brazil’s highest selling recording musician. For many years, the bar’s owner fronted a tribute band to “the king” and underwent plastic surgery to look like him. At the opposite end of the spectrum were Rosho, led by bassist and singer Duda Bello, who drew attention not for how they looked, but for how they sounded. Possibly the first cover band to form in Brasília, they began in 1982 and gained renown for their faithful renditions of the Canadian rock band Rush. In 2001 a group of Rush fans organized “RushCon 1,” the first Rush convention, in Toronto, Canada. A worldwide call for demo tapes of Rush cover bands was sent out, which Rush themselves auditioned. Rosho was selected as one of two bands to perform at the convention.⁶²

⁶² I wrote extensively on this subject in Wheeler 2006.

Capital of Rock: Conclusion

Despite the struggle facing rock bands, especially the underground ones, Felipe CDC maintains a positive outlook:

Because Brasília was always an enormous cauldron of rock bands, it still is and for sure will continue to be for years and years, for generations. Because rock . . . isn't a fad music, it's a music that has roots. And everything with roots is very difficult to get rid of. And Brasília, fortunately, has the happiness of having rock as its cultural root.⁶³ (Sant'anna 2005a).

What could possibly inspire this optimism?

Perhaps it is the fact that there are probably 500 rock bands active at the moment, maybe many more. I began keeping count about halfway into my research and reached 350 in about nine months. In the year and a half since then, I have come across new bands most every week. In other words, the rate has not slowed. Perhaps it is the more than 50 music schools. Or the 70 or so studios. These numbers are low estimates. It is difficult to gather such information. Phone books are not reliable sources (different phone books list a different subset of the total number of businesses in any category, and phone numbers change even before the new edition is distributed); most do not have websites;

⁶³ "Porque Brasília sempre foi um caldeirão de bandas de rock assim, enorme, continua sendo e com certeza continuará sendo por vários e vários anos e gerações, assim. Porque o rock . . . não é uma música de moda, ela é uma música que tem raiz. E tudo que tem raiz é muito difícil de ser arrancado. E Brasília, felizmente, tem essa felicidade de ter tido o rock como sua raiz cultural."

and owners of these establishments do not keep data on their market. It is a matter of going looking on foot, and many do not even have signs outside their establishments.

It could be that the independent market seems to be on a growth spurt. Brasília has five independent labels that work with rock bands: Discompany, GRV, Protons, Senhor F, and Sílvia Music. This does not include labels that work with Christian rock or gospel rock bands (or the subgenres such as “white metal” or “gospel metal”), nor those that focus on rap, reggae, or any other style, even if eventually they were to sign rock bands. It is possible that there are more labels. Nearby Goiânia, the capital of the neighboring Goiás, has a strong rock scene, and its independent label Monstro Discos maintains close relations with, signs, and promotes bands from Brasília. Some bands choose to be independent even of a label. The alternative rock quintet Peixa (see track 9 of the CD) is an example. Members Áli (drums), Batan (voice, guitar, bass), Roca (guitar), M. Patrick “Papi” (guitar), and Takeda (bass, guitar) recorded their debut album *Peixa* at locally owned Blue Records studio (owned by Gustavo, the guitarist of the local rock band Cadabra) in 2004-2005. Instead of pressing CDs, they constructed a website (www.peixa.com.br) and made the recordings available in .mp3 format and the lyrics and liner notes available in .pdf for download. Their reasoning was that a record contract would be difficult to get, given no reputation, no following, and little time to perform live. If they were fortunate to be signed, their percentage on sales would likely not be favorable, and distribution would probably be limited. Furthermore, they had already invested their own money in recording, so the primary perks of a contract, namely the

advance and studio time, would not apply. They discussed the option of paying for a pressing of the CD; the prospect of self-distributing the CD was not attractive. Using the internet for publicity and circulation of their music seemed to be a viable and sensible strategy, and if they felt the response was favorable, they could choose the more traditional method, perhaps with the backing of a label, for a future album (Peixa 2005).

The media outlets for local rock bands are very few indeed: two radio programs are dedicated to playing local rock bands: Cult 22, on the air at Radio Cultura for 15 years, and Radio Porão do Rock, just launched a year ago. One television station, DFTV, has a weekly program showcasing bands.

Fellipe CDC's hopeful outlook most likely reflects the observation that the DIY philosophy is strong, so that none of the above factors is in itself crucial for the maintenance of the scene. As long as people pick up an instrument they will make music; as long as there are guitars there will be rock. His hopefulness is a symbolic merging of Brasília as both Capital of Hope and Capital of Rock, even as the appropriateness of the two titles is under debate.

Capital of Inequality, Inequality of Capital: The Socio-Spatial Homology

Brasília, as the first section showed, is a site of gross inequality. The Pilot Plan is relatively homogeneous from an economic point of view, consistent with planners' visions of the new capital. But when taken as a whole, Brasília is home to the most diverse economic conditions in the country. Though São Paulo has nationally the greatest number of households in the highest income bracket, those in Brasília in this bracket earn

nearly twice as much (R\$44,200 per month), representing a difference of 155 times the earnings of the poorest families (R\$280 per month, equal to the national average for this category). The national average for the income difference between richest and poorest families is a ratio of 93-to-1 (*Correio Braziliense*, 27 March 2005). In the seven years through 2004 a study revealed that the gap was increasing (*Correio Braziliense*, 26 November 2004). The concentration of economic capital maps out neatly onto the concentrated geographic areas of the Pilot Plan, Southwest, and North and South Lakes. The poorer RAs and invasions are far-flung: figurative economic distance and literal geographic distance between the rich and poor form a homology of structure and social relations.

The subject of mass transit will surface repeatedly in the following chapters, for it is a significant feature of life in Brasília. Difficulty of circulation for those using public transportation reinforces the socio-spatial homology, for it exacerbates geographic distance. No bus is equipped to accommodate passengers using wheelchairs, bicycles are not permitted aboard, no transfer system exists, and the cost exceeds the national average. The newspapers frequently publish articles depicting the daily struggles of inhabitants of the satellite cities and the Entorno in moving from home to work, school, shops, hospitals, and other destinations. Of all complaints and requests for improvements in services and infrastructure made to the city administration, those addressing collective transportation are the most common (*Correio Braziliense*, 31 July 2005). Five of the six companies serving the Entorno are among the busiest in the country and sell 55,000,000

tickets annually; they are also “national champions” in grievances (*Correio Braziliense*, 3 April 2005).

Rock production has historically followed and affirmed this homology, with the initial, successful bands emerging in the Pilot Plan and North and South Lakes. Today, the better equipped studios, the better known music schools, and the more financially successful musicians are likely to be located in these areas. There are exceptions, and niche markets aid in the redistribution of capital in ways that do not conform to the homology: the Gama-based hardcore band Besthöven, led by multi-instrumentalist Fofão, has legions of fans worldwide. Stores in Japan in one month sold out of the 3,000 copies of the first pressing of the band’s recent anthology.

Genres

The following effort to define and delineate the genres and subgenres of rock most mentioned in this dissertation is meant to be brief and general. The reasons for not undertaking a meticulous taxonomy are several: 1) the identifiers that mark genre are many and non-exclusive, rendering rigid demarcation artificial; 2) agreement about the genre which to given band belongs does not always exist among fans, musicians, or the bands themselves; 3) style names may be retained over time while their characteristics change; 4) style names are not universally used, with some terms representing regional or personal preference—thus, the bands with whom I worked may be labeled using a

common term, though they little resemble similarly labeled bands elsewhere; 5) genre is not a central concern of my analysis of music and place in Brasília.

The elements that can more or less loosely be called sound-related include instrumentation, performance practice, timbre, tuning, tempo, duration, dynamic contour, song structure, and rhythmic, melodic, and harmonic conventions. Classification can be nettlesome, as two bands may exhibit nearly identical profiles in respect to the above elements in some songs, while in others differ greatly.

Though sonic identifiers may be chief among considerations, genre is more than sound-related categorization. In rock music genres lyrical themes, lifestyles, political and religious beliefs, visual aesthetics, and even personal hygiene (see below) are taken into account in genre analysis. Affiliations, both horizontal (i.e. among contemporaries) and vertical (i.e. genealogical), may be contemplated when determining genre. Even a record label's reputation may influence genre evaluations of bands on its roster.

Genre, then, is a question of aggroupment according to both extra-musical aspects like those mentioned above and a band's tendency to repeat or more heavily emphasize certain sound-related characteristics and not others. It is a field where listener and musician meet, where receptivity and intention influence a subjective and potentially controversial negotiation of meaning. The impulse to essentialize is noticeable in discussions of genre.

The primary genres I believe may need explication are listed below. I offer for each a sampling of what people look and listen for in a band or a song of the given genre

and trace, in a rudimentary lines, its kinship to others. All information presented as characteristics are *tendencies*.

All styles feature the basic set up of voice (with or without backing vocals), one, two or three electric guitars, electric bass, and drums. Some of the metal bands may use a keyboard.

Punk Rock: Began in mid-1970s in USA and UK. A return to early rock's energy, tempos, and timbres (exemplified by 1960s garage rock), only with more distortion, power chords (typically the tonic and the dominant, or the dominant and the octave, to avoid excessive dissonance at high levels of distortion), and shouted, confrontational, and sometimes anti-institutional and explicitly political lyrics. 4/4, strophe-refrain, up-tempo, little or no introduction, and no fade-outs. Songs of two to three minutes. Its DIY musical philosophy carried over into visual style. Emblematic bands: The Ramones (USA), Sham 69 (UK), C3 (Brazil). **Musical example: X-GRANITO** (track 17).

Progressive Metal: Began in the late 1970s and early 1980s in the USA, Canada, and the UK, mixing heavy metal playing techniques and production aesthetics with the complex time signatures, harmonic changes, and conceptual approach to albums of progressive rock. Jazz-fusion and baroque music also influenced the genre. Long songs, virtuosic solos, syncopated rhythms, varied tempos, orchestrated compositions, and clean, often operatic vocal styles are common. The concept approach results in

thematic lyrics and elements of different genres (ex. death metal) entering into compositions. Lyrics are usually in English, even when the band is from a country where it is not the national language. Emblematic bands: Dream Theater (USA), Opeth (Sweden), Angra (Brazil). **Musical example: Khallice** (track 6).

Hardcore Punk / Hardcore: Began in late 1970s and early 1980s in the USA and Canada. Just as punk rock sought to recapture rock's essence and strip it of the "excesses" of progressive and art rock, hardcore punk sought to reclaim punk from post-punk and art-punk streams. Faster tempos, chord changes, and more aggressive timbres than punk rock and without the latter's strophe-refrain structure. No guitar solos. Sometimes down-tuned guitars used to give it a heavier sound. Songs short (less than two minutes) common. Vocals screamed, lyrics often political. Emblematic bands: Minor Threat (USA), The Exploited (UK), ARD (Brazil). **Musical examples: ARD** (track 1), **Besthöven** (track 2), **Deceivers** (track 3), **xLinha de Frentex** (track 7), **Macakongs 2099** (track 8), **Quebraqueixo** (track 11), **<silente>** (track 12).

Thrash Metal: Began in late 1970s and early 1980s in USA and UK, mixing hardcore punk (especially the tempos and rhythms of its drumming) with heavy metal guitar timbres and techniques, and its strophe-refrain song structure. Palm-muting or pizzicato technique (the placing of the outside edge of the picking hand on the strings while picking) with low-frequency, fast tempo riffs give the music its customary "chugging" sound. Phrases may repeat, first faster, then slower in ABCDA'B'C'D' or

AA'BB'CC'DD' structure. Emblematic bands: Slayer (USA), Kreator (Germany), Sepultura (Brazil). **Musical example: Violator** (track 15).

Black Metal: Began in early 1980s, in Europe, especially Scandinavia, derived from mixing playing techniques of heavy metal and speed and timbres of thrash metal riffs. Fast, overdriven guitars playing power chords with standard tuning, and alternate (down/up or up/down) and tremolo (single-string) picking. Chromatic movement is common in melody lines, as is use of the tritone (a dissonant interval of three whole tones), while mid-range frequencies are de-emphasized. Double pedal kick drum, and fast, repetitive drumming. Vocals delivered in raspy or shrieking timbres, lyrics center on pagan, occult, satanic, or fantasy themes. Extended instrumental, non-vocal parts are characteristic. Medieval and fantasy makeup and costumes are sometimes used. Emblematic bands: Bathory (Sweden), Venom (UK).

White Metal (Unblack Metal, Holy UnBlack Metal, Christian Metal, Gospel Metal): Originated in the USA in the 1970s. Differentiated from other genres by lyrical references to Christianity and the Bible; musically it may sound like black, death, progressive, heavy, or thrash metal. Emblematic bands: Mortification (Australia), Stryper (USA).

Crust Punk / Crustcore / Crust and (now rare) Stenchcore: Began in early 1980s, derived from hardcore punk mixed with black metal (=crust punk), later adding elements of grindcore (=crustcore). Like hardcore punk with faster tempos, more

overdriven distortion producing a grittier sound in the guitars, with lower frequencies emphasized. Voices guttural or shrilly screamed. Anarcho-punk origins seen in lyrical content (current events, anti-oppression, anti-capitalist, anti-religious, pro-human/animal/environmental rights), look (dreadlocks, male/female body hair), hygiene (seemingly unwashed body), lifestyle (squatters). Emblematic bands: Amebix (UK), Disrupt (USA). **Musical example: Terror Revolucionário** (track 13).

Crossover / Crossover Thrash / Thrashcore: Often used interchangeably. In the early 1980s in the USA bands began to mix elements of hardcore punk with thrash metal, producing a subgenre characterized by extremely fast, low repetitive guitar riffs. Emblematic bands: Dirty Rotten Imbeciles (USA), Discarga (Brazil). **Musical example: ARD** (track 16).

Death Metal: Began in the USA, UK, and Sweden in the mid-1980s. Drew on elements of heavy metal, hardcore punk, and thrash metal (itself a child of hardcore punk and heavy metal). Growling and guttural vocals deliver lyrics that use death and nihilistic imagery as means for discussing life. Songs are fast, dynamically varied, and use chromatic progressions. Tremolo and alternate picking on heavily distorted (but not fuzzy), down-tuned guitars and bass, and rapid double kick drums. Instead of strophe-refrain structure, songs have serial sections that may not repeat and feature complex guitar solos. Song duration longer (up to five minutes). Emblematic bands: Possessed

(USA), later Napalm Death (UK), Grave (Sweden). **Musical example: Valhalla** (track 14).

Grindcore / Grind: Began in the UK in the mid-1980s, mixing hardcore punk with elements of death metal (guitar tunings, techniques, and timbres), crust punk (short song duration, maximal distortion), and thrashcore (low, fast riffs). The single kick either alternates 16th notes with a dry snare or doubles it, while the hi-hat doubles either (or both).⁶⁴ Vocals may be distorted, growled, and screamed. The lyrics are humorous, political, or gory. Songs are usually very short, sometimes half a minute. Emblematic bands: Extreme Noise Terror (UK), DFC (Brazil). **Musical example: Galinha Preta** (track 5).

Metalcore: Originated in the late 1980s in the USA. Similar to crossover thrash, but slower, tending to meld to hardcore more of death metal than thrash metal. Compositions often feature alternating fast and slow sections (the latter is called the “breakdown”) in which vocal style also changes. Emblematic bands: Biohazard (USA), Killswitch Engage (USA). **Musical example: Pœna** (track 10).

Nü Metal: Originated in the USA in the early 1990s and blends elements of rap, rock, funk, and metal. Emblematic bands: Linkin Park (USA), Limp Bizkit (USA). **Musical example: Etno** (track 4).

⁶⁴ Called the “blast beat.” It also appears in some death and black metal. I refer to it throughout the dissertation by its sound: “tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá”. It is currently the favored rhythm of local hardcore bands.

The endless recombination of genre elements, innovation, and regional variations has bred scores of niche genres. Their names are a combination of “objective” and subjective nomenclature intended to communicate heritage, differentiating traits, and the atmosphere their practitioners desire to create: deathgrind, goregrind, death doom, cybergrind, noisegrind, queercore, fastcore, skate punk, funkcore, emocore, deathrash, melodic deathcore, Florida death metal, blackened death metal, powerviolence, raw power, rapcore, pornogrind, groove metal, horror punk, post-punk, cowpunk, etc. Fofão of Besthöven, for example, calls his music “disbeat crust horrorcore,” indicating influences of D-beat, Discharge, crust punk, and horror-movie-themed hardcore. The proliferation of “-core” genres and subgenres refers back to the original polysemic application of “hardcore,” before it was a (somewhat) defined musical style. Juliano Lopes addresses this in Chapter 5.

Chapter 3

Architectonics 1: Place as Purpose

In this chapter I shall begin the analysis of the relationships between Brasília and rock by examining the aspect of *place as purpose*. While other cities may not be thought of as having a purpose, planned ones like Brasília begin as an aspiration and are built to achieve objectives. Thus, they are born with a role to play and for some time negotiate this existence-with-a-mission with their own organic development. This tension is, I imagine, particular to planned cities. It informs much of the debate around identity in Brasília.

This chapter will draw on the information presented in Chapter 2, especially the section “Capital of Hope.” Those aspects specifically relevant to the following discussion of the city’s purpose and, through this, the idea of place as purpose, are: 1) Brasília’s literal newness, i.e. its youth as a city, just 15-25 years old during the first decade of rock’s rise to preeminence as the city’s music par excellence; 2) Brasília’s purpose as the country’s newest capital and the attendant reasons for its construction; and 3) Juscelino Kubitschek’s intentions for Brasília to unify the country and insert Brazil into modernity via its capital’s worldliness.

In this the chapter, I shall tease out three of the rock community’s relevant “refrains” and link these discourses to the city’s purpose. The first will be that the city’s rock scene grew out of youths’ boredom, the *tédio* that resulted from living in a new,

experimental, planned, and incomplete city. Leisure options were lacking for 1970s and 1980s adolescents and young adults; the new capital was designed as an administrative city for the adult population of government functionaries and public servants, and city planners did not adequately provide for entertainment and activities for youth. With few exceptions the city was not conceived of with leisure in mind—few areas were to be dedicated to leisure, and this leisure was by and large for families (e.g. the recreational clubs for employees' families, such as the Athletic Association of the Bank of Brazil), leaving teenagers little to do but create their own pastimes. Forming rock bands was one of the most popular self-created leisure activities.

The second refrain is that the political situation from the mid-1960s through the mid-1980s—the repressive military dictatorship and the battle for a return to democracy—stimulated youth to organize and express themselves in music, especially in punk rock. These young musicians, many of whom eventually would contribute to Brasília's winning the ear of the national media, identified with the opposition, with the anti-military movement. Punk aesthetics provided them with a language through which to communicate their rejection of the status quo. For some, it gave them the means to articulate an alternate vision.

The third refrain is that Brasília is a mix of the whole world—of all of Brazil and of foreign elements as well. The placement of the federal and state governments in Brasília occasioned the congregation of people of all occupations and all strata from all regions of the country, and the establishment of embassies and an important university

(UnB, or the University of Brasília) drew first the elite from most of the world's countries and eventually commoners, too. Many of them brought their families and enrolled their children in special schools set up to receive foreigners, such as the Alliance Française and the American School, though serving Brazilians, too. The connection this heterogeneity has with rock is that the youth found that rock was the musical language most appealing and accessible to all. Whereas most arrived with a familiarity with regional and/or national musical styles from their places of origin, the musical diversity presented a challenge akin to that met by members of a polyglot community: what language to speak. Rock, the most translocal music of their generation, provided the means of musical collaboration and social interaction. It was, to borrow from linguistic vocabulary, a vehicular mode of communication, much like the recently invented Lingala was for the urban populations of Léopoldville (later Kinshasa) and Brazzaville from the beginning of the 20th century.

Via these refrains, these local discourses, we will have our first examples of the relationships between place and music, between Brasília and rock. All point to different aspects of how the purpose of the city influenced the development of a rock scene: the *tédio* as a result of the city's newness and purpose as administrative capital; the political situation as an immediate fact in the lives of the youth who lived in uncomfortable proximity to the seat of the military dictatorship, a result of Brasília's purpose as the country's and state's capital; and the cosmopolitan heterogeneity of Brasília, a social characteristic of the city that was a direct result of its purpose as capital.

Design is a term I shall use both in this chapter and in the next, though to signify different things. Whereas in the next chapter it will signify the city's built shape—its physical layout, the form of its constructions, and its urban plan—in this one design means the “thought shape”—the planners' intentions, as in “they designed the city to be the country's administrative capital.”

Rock's Refrains 1: “We were bored, so we rocked”

One of the refrains heard among rockers has to do with why so many people played music in Brasília. The newness of the city meant few leisure options. Life for the typical youth was one filled with *tédio*: boredom. As Áli Avelino, drummer for Peixa, remarked, if one didn't play music, one drank; or, in the words of Gustavo Vasconcelos, producer and label owner, music was born “as the salvation from boredom.” The following quotes from rock musicians of diverse styles and different generations offer insights into the roots, experiences, and effects of *tédio*.

I don't know how long you've been aware of this, but here it's complicated—you had a minimum of leisure possibilities, right? Bars practically nonexistent—leisure was impossible! So what did we do? Man—we grabbed a drum set, set it up in front of one these commercial centers, dude flipped on the amp and *gleng gleng gleng gleng* [imitating the sound of a guitar]—get it? Ten stray cats looking

on—wow! Awesome! Pull the plug, let's go drink and smoke a joint, and, once again, try under the circumstances to solve the planet's problem.⁶⁵ (Cascão 2005).

Public transportation is awful here—you already noticed that. Everything that there is to do, you need money to do it. You go to a bar, you have to have money, because everything is expensive. The cost of living is high. So it ended up that people had little to do. I think this was the fuse for everybody forming a band, like playing soccer on the weekends.⁶⁶ (Alessandra Tavares, Godinho and Tavares 2005).

Bands in Brasília are numerous. First, because here there's nothing to do; either you go to a bar and drink *cachaça* [the traditional spirit made from sugar cane] , have fun with your friends, or you go to the movies—ok, these days there are plenty of theaters, but in the beginning there were two in Brasília, right? It was a city built in the middle of the highest plateau in the country, on the highest [tectonic] plate in Brazil, we're at an altitude of 1,100 meters, sun beating down constantly on your head, frigid construction, this concrete, right? It's a living crèche [i.e. model] in truth, Brasília . . . with an architecture extremely cold. It

⁶⁵ “Não sei a quanto tempo você conhece isso aqui, mas aqui é complicado, você tinha o mínimo de lazer possível, né? Bares praticamente inexistentes – lazer era impossível! Então o que que a gente fazia? Bicho – pegava a bateria, montava a bateria num . . . em frente de um centro comercial desses, nego ligava o amplificador e *glen glen glen glen* – entendeu? Dez gatos pingados ficavam vendo – uau! Que beleza! Desligou, vamos tomar alguma coisa e fumar um baseado e, de novo, tentar resolver o problema do planeta, na medida das nossas circunstâncias.”

⁶⁶ “Aqui o transporte público é ruim, você já percebeu isso. Tudo pra você fazer, você tem que ter dinheiro, pra você fazer. Você vai num bar, você tem que ter uma grana, que tudo é caro. O custo de vida aqui é caro. Então acaba que as pessoas tinham pouca coisa pra fazer. Eu acho que isso é que foi o estopim pra todo mundo montar uma banda, que é como se fosse jogar futebol no final de semana.”

was constructed for people to work, not to live. And so, suddenly there's nothing to do in Brasília, and people begin to start bands.⁶⁷ (Santos 2005).

The lyrics of the song “Bloco K” by Detrito Federal synthesize many of the comments regarding boredom, drinking, suicide, sterile architecture, and the outlet rock provided.

“Bloco K” (“Block K”)

By José Carlos Vieira and Detrito Federal

Você fica em casa na janela do seu apartamento

You stay at the window of your apartment

Passeando os olhos pelo concreto frio.

Your eyes wander over the cold concrete.

Você acha bonito não ter o que fazer

You think not having anything to do is romantic

Enquanto seus amigos pulam desse avião.

While your friends jump from this airplane.

Você fica em casa esperando alguma carta

You wait at home for some letter to arrive

Para mudar aquela situação

To change your situation

Enquanto seus amigos ficam bêbados

While your friends get drunk

⁶⁷ “ . . . bandas em Brasília são muito numerosas. Primeiro que aqui não tem o que fazer, ou você vai pra um bar tomar cachaça, se divertir com seus amigos, ou vai prum cinema – tudo bem, hoje tem bastante cinema, mas no começo tinha duas salas de cinema em Brasília, né? Então foi uma cidade que foi construída no meio do platô mais alto do país, é a placa mais alta que tem no Brasil, a gente tá a mil e cem metros de altitude, sol na cabeça direto, uma construção fria, esse concreto, né? É um presépio, na verdade, vivo, Brasília . . . arquitetura de uma coisa extremamente fria. Aqui foi construído pras pessoas trabalharem, não pra morar. Entao de repente não tinha o que fazer em Brasília, então as pessoas começaram a montar música.”

Fazem grupos de rock and roll

Start rock and roll bands

Morrendo de solidão, morrendo de solidão.

Dying of loneliness, dying of loneliness.

The boredom youth experienced in Brasília in the 1980s and 1990s is mythical—it is often given by youth of the current generation as the defining characteristic of Brasília in the past. Though it is seen as having a beneficial effect on the city’s cultural life, providing the “fuse” for the creation of a musical culture that eventually embraced not just the youth but provided the city with the title “Capital of Rock”, it was not entirely benign, as the two following quotes make clear:

So we formed a rock band because we wanted to paint a picture and express what was bothering us, the context [in which we lived]: the boredom, the lack of things to do, the lack of leisure options. We lived in a great “marasmus” at the time. So all of that provoked indignation, caused discomfort in us—the inconformity of our generation with what was happening in our country at that time . . . this “marasmic” climate of idleness, of boredom in Brasília, which even included a high incidence of suicide at the time (people committed suicide because there was nothing to do on Sundays)—it was worse than in Sweden. Dude killed himself because he had nothing to do.⁶⁸ (Podrão 2005).

⁶⁸ “Então a gente montava uma banda de rock porque nós queríamos realmente retratar e colocar pra fora aquilo que nos incomodava, aquele contexto: o tédio, a falta do que fazer, a falta de lazer. A gente vivia num marasmo muito grande na época. Então isso tudo nos causava indignação, nos causava constrangimento, o inconformismo da nossa geração com o que estava acontecendo com o país naquela

I think the lack of culture in the city, for being so new—this generated a necessity for us to make culture ourselves, because we were neglected by the center, the Rio-São Paulo axis. People [i.e. bands on tour, etc.] stayed there and didn't come here in the beginning. At that time, 20 years ago, there was nothing in Brasília. So we had to throw our own party, otherwise there was no party. It had one of the highest indices of suicide, Brasília . . . a damning loneliness.⁶⁹ (Mattos 2005).

If committing suicide seems out of all proportion to the problem of not having anything to do on Sundays, as Paulo Mattos describes, I can offer only my own insight into the social importance of being with people on the weekends, especially at lunch time (see Chapter 2). Combine this societal custom (which, when not an option, can feel like pressure or an onus) with the lack of traditional urban meeting places and the difficulty migrants to Brasília report of joining already established social groups, due to the existence of clique-like *panelinhas* (discussed in the following chapter) organized around quasi-familial commonalities, and the isolation one can feel could conceivably drive people to extremes.

Flávio Lemos puts a different spin on the lack of leisure options. As he says below, the paucity of things to do meant that he and his peers did everything available. In

época . . . esse clima de marasmo, de ócio, de tédio em Brasília, que envolveu até um índice enorme de suicídio naquela época (as pessoas se suicidavam porque não tinha o que fazer no domingo, naquela época) — era pior do que era na Suécia. Neguinho se matava porque não tinha o que fazer.”

⁶⁹ Eu acho que a carência de cultura, da cidade, por ser muito nova — isso gerou uma necessidade da gente mesmo produzir uma cultura porque a gente não era lembrado pelo centro, pelo eixo Rio-São Paulo. O pessoal ficava lá e não vinha pra cá no começo. Nessa época, há 20 anos atrás, não tinha nada em Brasília. Então a gente teve que fazer a própria festa, senão não tinha festa. Era um dos maiores índices de suicídio, em Brasília . . . uma solidão danada.

this way he met people in his age group that did not necessarily live near by. This kind of socializing resulted in friendships that were important in the creation of a rock community.

By the same token, Brasília, for theoretically not offering any entertainment, the fact is we weren't going to stay at home because of that. We went out, we had to meet up, and so we met up. When there was a play, we went. Or else, a performance piece in the Warehouse theater, a "mabembe" piece, we went. "So and so's having a soirée—let's go, free white wine"—we went and got in. . . . Wherever there was something going on, we went. Whatever it was, it was good enough.⁷⁰

In pondering the relationship between Brasília's newness, the making of friends, and the beginning of the new music scene, Flávio reflected on the effort required for youth to get around. The three locations of the city he cites, North Lake, 213 South [in South Wing], and North Wing, cover a distance difficult to traverse for those who cannot or do not drive, or cannot afford a taxi, given poor public transportation, especially at night.

This [was] a characteristic of Brasília. Maybe we wouldn't have met these people in another city. We lived in the Colina and later moved to North Lake. But what

⁷⁰ "Ao mesmo tempo Brasília, por não ter teoricamente, não oferecer entretenimento . . . o fato é que a gente não ia ficar em casa por causa disso. A gente saía, a gente tinha que se encontrar e se encontrava. . . . Porque quando tinha peça de teatro, a gente ia. Ou então, tem uma peça alternativa no Teatro galpão, um teatrinho mabembe, a gente ia. 'Tem a vernissage de não sei quem – vamos lá que vai ter um vinho branco de graça' – a gente ia lá e entrava. . . . A gente tava em tudo que é lugar. . . . O que tivesse que fazer tava bom."

makes someone who lives there meet someone who lives in 213 South and someone else who lives in North Wing—why will these people do whatever’s possible to go out, get together to go Cafofo, Beirute, or some little bar? Because, in the end, what there was in common was the “taste” for rock, principally punk.⁷¹ (Flávio Lemos 2005).

Of the two bars named, Cafofo no longer exists but in the memory of a generation.

Beirute, on the other hand, is one of the city’s oldest and most traditional bars.

The significance of *tédio* in the historical narratives of both the city and rock music is evident in two cultural artifacts: One is an expression that Holston came across during his fieldwork in Brasília in the 1970s and 1980s—“*brasilite*”—a word that takes the suffix used for diseases and attaches it to a truncation of the word “Brasília.” It was used to describe the malaise that afflicted residents of the new city, caused by its social and cultural barrenness and the distance people usually experienced from the comforts of the friends, family, and hearth left behind to work in the capital. Symptoms included depression, erratic behavior, and excessive drinking. The second artifact is the song by Renato Russo called “*Tédio (com um ‘T’ bem grande pra você)*”—“Boredom (with a great big “B” just for you). I have excerpted the following section from the complete lyrics:

⁷¹ “Essa é uma característica de Brasília. Talvez a gente não tivesse encontrado essas pessoas em outra cidade. A gente morava na Colina mas depois mudou pro Lago Norte. Mas o que é que faz uma pessoa que mora ali encontrar outra pessoa que mora na 213 Sul, outra que morava na Asa Norte – por que essas pessoas vão fazer o possível pra sair de casa, se juntar pra ir no Cafofo, no Beirute ou em algum barzinho? Porque, enfim, o que tinha em comum era o gosto pelo rock, principalmente o punk.”

“Tédio (com um ‘T’ bem grande pra você)”

by Renato Russo and Legião Urbana⁷²

Moramos na cidade, também o presidente.

We live in the city, so does the president.

E todos vão fingindo viver decentemente.

And everyone goes around pretending to live decently.

. . .

Andar a pé na chuva, as vezes eu me amarro.

Walking in the rain, sometimes I love it.

Não tenho gasolina, também não tenho carro.

I don't have gasoline, nor do I have a car.

Também não tenho nada de interessante pra fazer.

Nor do I have anything interesting to do.

Tédio com um T bem grande pra você

Boredom with a great big B just for you

. . .

Renato's lyrics not only address the lack of leisure options, it suggests several of the conditions described by those I quoted above: the lack of public transportation and the difficulty in getting around (a topic I return to in Chapter 4); the barrenness of the city; and the need to create your own fun. This pro-active response to the situation in which youth found themselves in the newest of cities is one of the reasons why punk rock's DIY ethos resounded so. It is boredom's complement, the other half of the tédio discourse. It will come up again and again in rockers' descriptions of their activities.

⁷² The complete lyrics can be found on many websites, including <http://www.revista.agulha.nom.br/russo36.html>.

The lyrics also bring up another issue that youth confronted: co-existence with the seat of power. It leads us to the next of “rock’s refrains.”

Rock’s Refrains 2: Rock as Resistance

The dictatorship in Brazil began in 1964 with the a military *coup d’état* and the ouster of the democratically elected leftist João Goulart. JK had been succeeded in 1961 by Jânio Quadros, a right wing figure who quite suddenly resigned and turned power over to Goulart, his vice president. The dictatorship, which marked the end of the Second Republic (1945-1964), intensified in 1968 with the imposition of the notorious Institutional Act #5, commonly called the “AI-5”, that among other things suspended *habeas corpus* until its repeal in 1978. Freedom of expression was revoked and political parties were outlawed. Many in the opposition were disappeared, tortured, imprisoned, and executed. Some trained, took up arms and prepared for revolution in foreign countries. Prominent rock musicians like Gilberto Gil, Caetano Veloso, Chico Buarque, and Raul Seixas were forced into exile. The last military president, João Figueiredo, appointed in 1979, continued his predecessor Ernesto Geisel’s relaxation of authoritarian rule (called the *distensão*, or “stretching”), and initiated a gradual transition back to democracy (called the *abertura*, or “opening”). A general amnesty was declared, encouraging the return of exiles. The 21-year period of military rule, remembered as “os Anos de Chumbo”—“The Years of Lead,” ended with the indirect election of Tancredo Neves in 1985, who died the night before his inauguration. His vice president José Sarney

assumed power. The first direct elections, marking the end of the transition from dictatorship to democracy, were held in 1989. Fernando Collor de Mello was elected president and remained in office until his impeachment in 1992.

Though all youth in Brazil lived under the military dictatorship, those in Brasília, as the accounts below relate, experienced it in a special way. The daily visual reminders of tanks, soldiers on horseback, police helicopters and other displays of military strength, and the proximity of the seat of the dictatorship conditioned the life of the Brasiliense youth in ways hard to imagine if one has grown up with relative political and personal freedom. The rockers that made Brasília famous grew up in this environment, and the appeal of rock, especially punk, is seen as having to do with the emotional effect of the music and political possibility of its lyrics. “It was a very creative phase,” Rubens, the owner of Gate’s Pub said, taking the long view:

Brazil was entering the decade of the dictatorship. This ends up forcing the rebelliousness, of getting it all out, of shouting, seeing like I did as a little boy tractors, war tanks, army jeeps in the street. You would go bike riding and see General Milton Cruz on horseback, acting like he was Napoleon. I was thrown in jail once.⁷³ (Rubens 2005)

The daily reality, as Paulo Mattos implies, could be frightening:

⁷³ “Foi uma fase muito criativa. . . . O Brasil estava entrando na década da ditadura. Isso acaba forçando a rebeldia, de botar pra fora, de gritar e de ver molequinho na rua, como eu vi, na rua, trator, tanque de guerra, jipe do exército. Então, você ia andar de bicicleta você via o general Milton Cruz no cavalo, andando de cavalo como se fosse Napoleão. Eu já fui preso.”

I grew up learning to keep quiet. Because the conversations that took place in my house—for example, when UnB was invaded, my mother hid students in my house. So we had to keep quiet, because otherwise the army would just show up and mess everyone up. So at eight, ten years old, I already knew to keep my mouth shut.⁷⁴ (Mattos 2005).

For this generation, even the innocent act of getting together with a few friends could be dangerous, as Podrão told me. “We were getting the ‘hangover’ of the dictatorship,” he said, speaking of the early 1980s, “but it was still a dictatorship. It was a state of siege. You couldn’t be in a group of even three or four people in 1985.”⁷⁵ Cascão, his band mate in the foundational punk band Detrito Federal, which started in 1983, talked about the effect this control had on them as youth:

It was a state of emergency—it was in the Constitution that after 10 pm you were prohibited from being in the street. So the city became deserted. This was in 1984 . . . For us, it was what we wanted. So we went out with our Doc Martins . . . cuz “Hey, wait a second, fuck 10 o’clock, old man. Fuck 10 o’clock, this here country is mine. Just like it’s yours it’s mine, too.” . . . You had all the ammunition and

⁷⁴ “Eu cresci aprendendo a ficar calado. Porque as conversas que tinham na minha casa – por exemplo, quando teve a invasão da Unb, minha mãe escondia os estudantes lá na minha casa. Então a gente tinha que ficar calado, porque senão, o exército ia lá e dava uma blitz lá em casa e detonava todo mundo. Então eu com 8 anos, 10 anos de idade já sabia ficar calado.”

⁷⁵ “A gente estava pegando uma ressaca da ditadura mas ainda havia ditadura. O estado de sítio tava lá. Você não podia ficar num grupo de 3, 4 pessoas ali em 85.”

determination of youth to transform, to begin to beat on the structure for it to collapse and see something new appear.⁷⁶ (Cascão 2005).

The feeling that they could do something was strong, and as Flávio Lemos explains, he and his peers felt it was their duty, their role to help bring about the desired change:

We were the beginning, the initial cipher of some great utopian, anarchistic revolution that was going to change the world. You had to contest things . . . principally because of the political moment we were living in. It was the military dictatorship. We grew up with that. And a large number of our parents were persecuted for being leftists—leftists for being against the military dictatorship. If you were against the military dictatorship, you were a communist. So everybody was in the same boat. We grew up with this, lived it, living at the UnB [i.e. in the Colina]. We remember 1968—when the dictatorship became one for real, because between 1964 and 1968 there was still an opposition press. In '68, with the AI-5, they invaded UnB . . . they arrested a ton of students, professors. I was there, little, watching it all. We grew up with that. So contesting things was part and parcel. And with Renato's highly subversive lyrics, "What country is this,"

⁷⁶ "Existia o estado de emergência, que existia na Constituição, que, a partir das 10 horas, você era proibido de sair nas ruas. Então a cidade ficava deserta. Isso foi em 84. A cidade ficava deserta, imagina. Só que, pra gente, era o que a gente queria. Então a gente saía com a Doctor Martin . . . porque, 'Pó, pêra aí, 10 horas é o caralho, velho. Dez horas é o caralho, esse país aqui é meu. Do mesmo, o direito seu, é meu também.' . . . Você tinha toda essa munição e tinha a garra da juventude, de transformar, de começar a bater na estrutura pra ela ruir e pra ver aparecer uma coisa nova."

“Coca-cola generation,” and “Veraneio vascaína” talking about police brutality, we felt we were doing something useful.⁷⁷ (Flávio Lemos 2005).

To criticize is part of punk’s heritage. The dictatorship was an enemy and had been a great enemy during my parents’ generation . . . so the political lyrics were something natural The situation of your being in a city where the power was right there motivated you even more to write contestatory lyrics.⁷⁸ (Fê Lemos 2005).

The lyrics to many of these songs are remembered even today, more than twenty years after the end of the dictatorship. The songs mentioned above by Flávio became anthems, much in the way Geraldo Vandré’s “Pra não dizer que não falei de flores” (“So as not to say that I didn’t speak of flowers”) and Chico Buarque’s “Construção” (“Construction”) were for these youths’ parents. As with these earlier musical activists, censorship was a reality rockers had to face. “In the old days, to play a show, you had to take your lyrics and go to the federal police,” Cascão recalled. “You got there with your

⁷⁷ “A gente era o começo, a centelha inicial de alguma grande revolução utópica anarquista que ia mudar o mundo. Você tinha que ser contestador . . . principalmente pelo momento político que a gente estava vivendo. Era a ditadura militar, a gente cresceu com isso. E nossos pais, grande parte, foram perseguidos por ser de esquerda. Ser de esquerda por ser, nesse caso, contra a ditadura militar. . . . Se você era contra a ditadura militar você era comunista. E, claro, todo mundo cai no mesmo saco. A gente cresceu com isso, viveu isso, morando na UnB . . . A gente lembra em 68, que foi quando a ditadura virou mesmo uma ditadura. Porque de 64 a 68 ainda tinha jornal de oposição. 68, com o AI5, invadem a UnB . . . prenderam um monte de estudantes, professores. Então, eu estava lá, pequenininho, vendo. A gente cresceu com isso. Então fazia parte contestar. E com as letras altamente subversivas do Renato, ‘Que país é esse’, ‘Geração Coca-cola’, ‘Veraneio vascaína’, falando da violência policial, a gente se sentia fazendo algo útil.”

⁷⁸ “É uma herança do punk rock né, a crítica. A ditadura era um inimigo, tinha sido um grande inimigo na geração dos meus pais . . . então as letras políticas foram uma coisa natural A situação de você estar numa cidade onde o poder tava ali perto acho que te dava uma motivação a mais pra você fazer letras de contestação.”

lyrics for the guy to give you a stamp like this: ‘Public execution prohibited’”⁷⁹ (2005).

Carmen Manfredini, Renato Russo’s sister, recalled that the family discovered through a relative in the army that her brother’s name was listed with the SNI, or National Sector for Information, the central organ of repression. Dona Carminha Manfredini, Renato Russo’s mother, remembered fearing for her son’s safety:

He used to go to his shows and I would say to him, “If this boy’s arrested I won’t go get him out of jail! I won’t get my son out of jail! You can stay there in prison!” [laughs]. Because it was during the repression. They had to submit their lyrics to the censor. What did they do? They modified the lyrics, gave them to the censor, he looked them over, there was nothing, and when they got to the show they sang the lyrics and all the kids knew.⁸⁰ (Manfredini and Manfredini 2005).

I myself had various things censured with *Mel da Terra*, but the inanest of things. Whatever inanity you uttered was censured. You didn’t have the freedom to say anything. You had to invent ways of fooling the censors to get your message out there. Rock was able to break this down a bit . . . for [in the 1980s] censorship diminished. . . . If we say that the lyrics of the rock set were more committed

⁷⁹ “Antigamente, pra você tocar, fazer um show, você tinha que pegar a letra da música, se dirigir à polícia federal. . . . Você chegava com as letras pro cara te dar um carimbo assim ó: Proibida a execução pública da música.”

⁸⁰ “Ele saía para os shows assim e eu dizia: “Se for preso eu não vou tirar menino de cadeia! Não tiro filho de cadeia, você pode ficar preso lá!”. Porque era na repressão, e eles tinham que entregar as letras pra censura. O que é que eles faziam? Eles modificavam a letra, dava pro censor, o censor olhava, não tinha nada e quando chegava no show eles cantavam as letras e os meninos todos sabiam.”

politically [*engajadas*], it's because they had that space, it was open for them, whereas for us it wasn't.⁸¹ (Mattos 2005).

From 1964 until 1979, only two parties were permitted: ARENA (the National Renewal Alliance) and MDB (the Brazilian Democratic Movement). The former was the conservative party of the military juntas, while the latter was the official opposition party. In 1984 leftist leadership organized the political movement called *Diretas Já*, demanding direct, democratic representation immediately (“já”). It mobilized the opposition, including many youth and students, and though quashed by the Senate, played a part in changing the political climate and in the return to direct elections five years later. Cascão echoed Flávio Lemos's view of politics at the time as polarized: “Either you were connected to the military movement, or you were of the anti-military movement”⁸² (2005). As part of Figueiredo's 1979 amnesty, other parties like the PCB (Brazilian Communist Party) and its splinter the PCdoB (Communist Party of Brazil) were permitted, and others formed, including current president Luis Ignácio Lula da Silva's PT (Workers Party).

I remember that at one of our shows I was singing . . . “Victims of the Miracle.”

That is, we're paying the IMF for some reason that somebody made up, a

“Brazilian miracle”—*pá pá pá pá pá* [imitates the laying down of bills]. Anyway,

⁸¹ “Eu mesmo tive várias coisas censuradas no Mel da Terra, mas coisas bestíssimas. Qualquer besteira que você falava você era censurado. Você não tinha liberdade de falar nada. Você tinha que inventar uma forma de enganar a censura pra passar a mensagem no ar. O Rock já veio quebrando isso um pouco . . . que naquele momento a censura diminuiu. . . . Agora digamos assim que as letras dessa turma eram mais engajadas, porque tinha esse espaço, era aberto pra eles, pra gente não era, não existia diretas, não existia nada.”

⁸² “Ou você era ligado ao movimento militar, ou você era anti-movimento militar.”

there I am singing, and instead of the refrain “victims of the miracle,” I substituted “direct elections,” and they began to pull on the cord, the microphone—[sings] “direct elections!”—and I followed the cord, get it? And somebody—the State represented by some being there—pulled the plug and said that “direct elections” was subversion . . . and that ended the show.⁸³ (Cascão 2005).

Such direct confrontation was not always safe, especially earlier on in the dictatorship, as Mattos makes clear:

We were in favor of the *Diretas*, we took a position and represented the will of the youth to have *Diretas*, but we had no space to contest anything. Brazil was like this: if you talked about politics, you were imprisoned and tortured. I have an uncle who was maimed, a cousin machine-gunned . . . simply murdered. And it wasn’t just one or two—a ton of people were killed.⁸⁴ (Mattos 2005).

Eventually, politicians saw that music was a vehicle that they could exploit, even if without the consent of the musicians. Speaking of Mel da Terra, Mattos remembers:

We [were] releasing our record there in the Convention Center, [Figueiredo] lied in the newspaper, saying that we were going to play to welcome him back from

⁸³ “[L]embro que uma vez eu tava cantando num desses shows . . . Vítimas do milagre. Ou seja, a gente ta pagando o FMI, aquela coisa toda por uma história que alguém imaginou, um milagre brasileiro, *pa pa pa pa pa*. E aí eu tava cantando, o refrão era ‘vítimas do milagre’ e eu troquei por ‘eleições diretas’, aí o cabo, começaram a puxar o microfone – ‘eleições diretas’ – e eu fui, sacou? E alguém disse, o Estado representado por um ser lá, puxou o microfone, isso era subversão, subversivo . . . e isso acabou o show.”

⁸⁴ “A gente era a favor das Diretas, a gente se posicionava, representava a vontade da juventude de ter Diretas, mas a gente não tinha espaço pra contestar nada. Brasil era o seguinte, se você falasse em política você era preso e torturado. Eu tenho um tio aleijado, um primo que foi metralhado . . . assassinado simplesmente. E não foi um ou outro não, foi um monte de gente que morreu.”

Germany. So people thought that we supported the military government. It was a lie So I went to the radio stations to straighten it out, and they didn't even let me speak the truth, because staff would be fired—that's how it was, total repression.⁸⁵ (Mattos 2005).

Mel da Terra was a logical choice for Figueiredo's charlatanism—they had an enormous following, especially with youth, and as their lyrics were guaranteed by the censors to be non-offensive, they would not embarrass the military. Furthermore, as they were musically a kind of hippie rock, somewhere between singer-songwriter MPB (the genre known simply as “Brazilian Popular Music”) and what followed, they were hip, but not radical, like punk rock would be. Fellipe CDC and Fê Lemos contemplated rock's displacement of MPB for their generation as the music of choice for contesting social and political issues:

[W]hen Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso began to “sell out” to the system, and also when Os Mutantes broke up, I think a huge lacuna opened in Brazilian music, in terms of rebelliousness and such . . . which was filled by Brazilian rock, punk, and hardcore, which were born in São Paulo, with Ratos de Porão, Olho Seco, Fogo Cruzado, all of those bands. Those folks suffered a lot under the military dictatorship. There are even some discs, “The Beginning of the End of the

⁸⁵ “[A] gente lançando o disco lá no Centro de Convenções, ele mentiu no jornal falando que a gente ia tocar pra recepcionar ele quando ele foi na Alemanha, quando ele voltou da Alemanha. Aí o pessoal achava que a gente apoiava o governo militar. E era mentira Aí fui desmentir nas rádios, nem me deixaram desmentir, porque se não iam ser despedido o pessoal – era assim, repressão total.”

World,” [and the festival by the same name] ended in police beatings and such, precisely because they preached extreme social changes.⁸⁶ (Sant’anna 2005).

I think playing rock was a contestation of the MPB format that we thought was square. It didn’t matter that . . . Chico [Buarque] had written marvelous songs of legitimate contestation and [was] censored, that Gilberto Gil was exiled—we knew all that. But those guys were from another school, and in our view we were bringing something even more contestational. Punk rock was the contestation of rock, which was itself a contestation of things in general.⁸⁷ (Fê Lemos 2005).

Eventually, youth embraced rock, and local bands like Aborto Elétrico, Legião Urbana, Capital Inicial, Plebe Rude, Detrito Federal, Blitz 64, Escola de Escândalo, Filhos de Mengele, and others composed the city’s and the generation’s sound track. Beginning in the late 1970s rock took over as the most representative of musical styles for youth. For many, rock and politics went hand-in-hand at precisely the time when change was most needed. Recalling the spirit that filled them with hope and conviction, Cascão said:

⁸⁶ “[Q]uando Gilberto Gil e Caetano Veloso começaram a “se vender”, entre aspas, pro sistema, eu acho que ficou uma grande lacuna na música brasileira, em termos de rebeldia e tal, quando Mutantes acabou também . . . que foi preenchida com o rock brasileiro, o punk e o hardcore que nasceu em São Paulo lá, com Ratos de Porão, Olho Seco, Fogo Cruzado, aquelas bandas todas ali. Então esse pessoal aí sofreu muito com a ditadura militar. Inclusive tem uns discos aí, que é “O começo do fim do mundo”, que acabou em pancadaria com a polícia e tal, exatamente por eles pregarem mudanças sociais extremas e tal.”

⁸⁷ “Acho que tocar rock era até uma contestação ao formato MPB que a gente achava careta. Não importasse se . . . o Chico tinha feito músicas maravilhosas de contestação legítima e censurado, Gilberto Gil foi exilado – a gente sabia disso tudo. Mas esses caras eram de uma outra praia, na nossa visão a gente tava trazendo algo que era mais contestador ainda. O punk rock . . . era . . . o punk rock era a contestação do rock, que já era a contestação das coisas em geral.”

Nothing, you feared nothing. To the contrary: you wanted to be a martyr. Your intention was: “Hey, old man, here I am, you can kill me! But I am here!” It’s natural for a youth to think like that, to always put his chest out and [to say] “Come on!” In Peace Square in China, in Beijing: the guy was there and . . . he stood up to the tank. If you think about it, the tank would roll over him just fine and one less Chinese in world wouldn’t be missed, right? But what’s the issue? “Hey—behind me, old man, there’s my whole philosophy, my whole revolution. And it’s much larger than yours.” . . . Our ideal at that moment was freedom of expression, the *Diretas Já*. I didn’t necessarily align myself with the rationale of the PCdoB, the father of the PT. Quite the opposite—we wore a big A.” . . . We were anarchists, but anarchists wanting freedom, not Bakunin’s anarchist, the more primitive thing of [just] turning everything upside down The only difference [between people] is intellectual. And so our intention at that time was . . . to try to raise the flag of education . . . so that everyone would have a fucking education. Why? To be able to question, to demand things of the State.⁸⁸ (2005).

⁸⁸ “Nada, temia nada, ao contrário: você queria ser o mártir. A sua intenção era: ‘Pó, velho, eu to aqui, pode matar! Mas eu to aqui!’ E é natural que o jovem pense assim, sempre de botar o peito à frente e: ‘Pode vir!’ Na praça da paz, na China, em Pequim: o cara chegou lá e . . . ele peitou o tanque. Se você pensar bem, o tanque passaria por ele numa boa e menos um chinês no mundo não ia fazer falta, né? Mas a questão ali era o quê? ‘Ó, atrás de mim, velho, tem todo o meu pensamento, tem toda a minha revolução. E que é muito maior que a sua.’ . . . O nosso ideal naquele momento era a liberdade de expressão, era Diretas Já. Não necessariamente que eu me enquadrava na linha de raciocínio do pai do PT, na linha do PCdoB. Ao contrário, a gente usava um A-zão. . . . A gente era anarquista, mas um anarquista querendo a liberdade, não aquele anarquista do Bakunin, aquela coisa mais primitiva do ‘vamos chutar o balde.’ . . . A única diferença que há é a intelectual. E, por isso, que a nossa intenção naquele momento era . . . tentar colocar uma bandeira da educação . . . que todo mundo tenha a porra da educação. Pra quê? Pra poder questionar, pra poder cobrar do Estado.”

Cascão and his peers were most likely better educated than many. His exposure to Bakunin and anarchism, for example, bespeaks a high literacy that depends, among factors, on access to a wide variety of information. It was often suggested that Brasília enjoyed a circulation of greater amounts of information than was at the time available to people most everywhere else in the country, due to the high level of education of its residents and the influx of information from other cities and countries. This leads us to the third of “rock’s refrains” in this chapter: Brasília as a mix of the whole world. It was, as we shall now discuss, Brasília’s cosmopolitanism that both brought about the mix and resulted from it.

Rock’s Refrains 3: Brasília as a “Tower of Babel” / “Melting Pot”

Brasília, *ab ovo*, was a cosmopolitan city. From the internationalist ideology that acted as matrix for its urban plan, the participation of individuals from four countries on the panel of judges that chose Lúcio Costa’s urban plan, to Costa’s and design architect Oscar Niemeyer’s training, the money used to finance its construction⁸⁹, and the modernist, functionalist style in which the city and its buildings were designed, Brasília even as a blueprint was projected to be “the Esperanto” of cities. It was to be a statement of Brazil’s international presence, the chief testament to its modern achievements. Its construction and the subsequent transferal of government functionaries brought people from around the country, as well as merchants, engineers, financiers, educators, and

⁸⁹ JK’s Planos de Metas as a whole required loans for implementation of more than US\$ 2,000,000,000 between 1955-61 and foreign investment in the automobile industry, air transportation, in utilities like electricity, and in steel (Benevides 1976: 238).

diplomats from around the globe. The city's cosmopolitanism thus had national and international dimensions. The presence of the diplomatic corps working the embassies in Brasília gave it from its first days a connection with the wider world that starkly contrasted with its geographic isolation. It lay far off the Rio-São Paulo axis, yet it was in many ways more in touch with what was happening culturally in Europe and North America—the two principle poles of reference—than either of Brazil's metropolises.

Sociologist Brasilmar Nunes calls Brasília the most heterogeneous of cities, yet one with the “fewest remnants of regional cultures.” Rock was since the earliest days of new capital's existence the music of choice among certain youth who found themselves in a new city, without a traditional music of its own, socializing with youth from other areas of the country with a variety of musical backgrounds. Rock was for them simultaneously no one's music and everyone's. It was, like Brasília itself, a “no-man's land” open to any one who cared to be a part, and as such, it was territory where anyone could meet.

Brasília is remembered individually and collectively as a city on the one hand isolated from what was happening in Rio and São Paulo, where many of the families employed by the administration and university moved from. The incompleteness of the city and its distance from major metropolises meant, together with the repression of the dictatorship, that the city was stagnant culturally. The children of these families of the social and cultural elite of Brazil—those employed in the administration, the embassies and university—were exposed to musical and literary rarities from abroad, affording a

parallel, in-home education that included the Rolling Stones, Santana, the Beatles, Baudelaire. Even more importantly, they traveled abroad for long periods of time. The most important legacy that this aesthetic/experiential cosmopolitanism had for Brasília is the musical exchange that took place as children of public functionaries, diplomats, and university professors traveled, studied, and sojourned abroad and brought back with them on tape and vinyl the sounds to which local youth of their age in New York, London, and Paris listened. These recordings, of bands like the Ramones and the Sex Pistols, and other paraphernalia such as t-shirts and magazines, as well as the relationships formed through shared affinities, acted as the means for the creation of a musical culture essentially cosmopolitan.

Ulysses of the Brasiliense rock collective *Porão do Rock*, of which more will be spoken in Vignette 3, drew links between the informational and musical cosmopolitanism Brasilienses had by virtue of early rockers' sojourns abroad and freedom (and its lack), which echoes Cascão and Detrito Federal's belief that education was necessary for political and intellectual growth:

They went abroad and brought back all that information Imagine, a Brazil under the dictatorship, there was nothing, no imports, nothing, but with those guys bringing back records, bringing instruments, get it? Because in the rest of the

country . . . there wasn't much information or freedom, for you gain freedom if you have knowledge, no? (Porão do Rock 2005).⁹⁰

These initial cosmopolitan experiences occurred in the countries where rock was strong, at the very moment punk rock was emerging. “We were far off the Rio-São Paulo axis,” Cascão recalled, “but at the same time were right next to the embassies.”

So the families of the embassies who were arriving from Europe who were arriving from the United States, from Canada, they brought information, too, even before [it got to] Rio and São Paulo So a guy would arrive here and say, “Jesus Christ, this place is really barren!” but he would have with him the Ramones, the Clash, the Buzzcocks, a ton of bands—cassettes, dude, and spread them around.⁹¹ (Cascão 2005).

Brasília at the time received very little foreign releases and depended on the material these youth brought back. Fê Lemos related this anecdote from 1980, involving himself and Renato Russo, to demonstrate. In it he makes reference to U2's first album.

We went to a record store, Renato and I. *Boy* had just come out. We walked in and started to look, and we knew that if the store had a copy, there would be just one. I

⁹⁰ “[V]ocê imagina, um Brasil da Ditadura, não tinha nada, não tinha importação, não tinha nada, mas com os caras trazendo discos, trazendo os instrumentos, entendeu? Porque no resto do país . . . não há muita informação, não há muita liberdade, pois se ganha liberdade se você tem conhecimento, né?”

⁹¹ “A gente tava longe do eixo Rio-São Paulo, dos grandes centros, mas ao mesmo tempo a gente tava do lado das embaixadas. Então as famílias das embaixadas que tavam chegando da Europa, tavam chegando dos Estados Unidos da América, do Canadá, eles traziam informações também, antes até que Rio e São Paulo Então, o cara chegava aqui e falava: ‘Porra, caralho, essa terra mesmo não tem nada!’ mas trazia um Ramones aqui, um Clash, um Buzzcocks, um monte de banda – fita cassete, porra velho, e disseminava.”

found it first. “It’s mine!” He got so pissed off—because Brasília was like that, one record.⁹² (Fê Lemos 2005).

Alex Podrão described the connections he and his friends felt with the outside world, even though they themselves did not have the same travel opportunities:

I lived in 416 South. In our vision of the Pilot Plan, we were closer to London and New York than the folks in the periphery, because we lived close to those people who went to study abroad, who got postgraduate degrees abroad, who were children of diplomats. They brought back with them great music collections, [punk rock] clothing and other accessories.⁹³

Podrão alludes to the periphery, the satellite cities of Brasília; these areas, especially Taguatinga and Gama, had and continue to have strong rock scenes that were influenced by the wave of rock emerging in the Pilot Plan, led by “children of diplomats.” (These days the punk, metal, and hardcore scenes in the satellite cities exert influence on bands based in the Pilot Plan.) These voyagers also returned from abroad with instruments and technology, like amplifiers and guitar pedals. As Phú, an icon in the next generation of the capital city’s rock scene, pointed out, musical instruments were priced beyond the reach of most people until President Collor de Mello reduced import taxes in 1990.

⁹² “A gente foi na loja de discos, eu e Renato, tinham lançado o *Boy*. A gente entrou na loja de discos e começamos a procurar, que a gente sabia que se achasse o disco, ia achar um só. E eu achei antes dele. ‘Ah, é meu!’ Ele ficou puto da vida cara. Porque Brasília era isso, um disco.”

⁹³ “Eu morava na 416 Sul. Nessa visão nossa do Plano Piloto, a gente estava bem mais próximo de Londres e de Nova York, do que a galera da periferia, porque nós estávamos próximos daquelas pessoas que iam estudar lá fora, que iam fazer suas pós-graduações lá fora, que eram filhos de diplomatas. Então traziam todo aquele acervo musical, visual, de vestimenta.”

The international face of cosmopolitanism that Brasília possessed had its national version, too. The capital city enjoyed a demographic heterogeneity, settled by people from every region of the country. For youth, this diversity and separation from familial places of reference sometimes translated into difficulty in knowing where one was from. Michelle Godinho, who grew up in the satellite city of Candangolândia, characterized the impact of the city's demographic heterogeneity this way: "People look for things to do, and so everybody brings their contribution"⁹⁴ (2005). Music was one of the few leisure activities in a new city, and this regional diversity expressed itself in rock.

"People used to ask, 'Why does Brasília have so many rock bands?'" Marcelo Carvalho recalled. "I remember that at that time [the 1970s] Brasília was a lot different from what it is today, principally in the aspect of socialization." He affirmed that no one in his band, the early rock group Banda 69, was born in the capital, but hailed from the South and the Southeast, and one member had grown up in Chile and Costa Rica. "At that time I think a large part of the people didn't feel themselves to be Brasiliense. . . . The greatest difficulty was one of everybody fitting together and understanding each other"⁹⁵ (2005). He placed the beginning of feeling Brasiliense around 1980, the very moment in which the city's rock scene began to form.

"A Tower of Babel" was a metaphor repeatedly used to describe the city. "The cool thing about Brasília was just that—the cultural and regional diversity," Podrão

⁹⁴ "As pessoas tentam buscar coisas [para fazer], e aí vem todo mundo com a sua contribuição."

⁹⁵ "O pessoal perguntava, 'Por quê Brasília tem tanta banda de rock?' E eu lembro que naquela época Brasília era muito diferente do que é hoje, principalmente no aspecto da socialização. Naquela época, acho que grande parte das pessoas não se sentiam brasiliense . . . [A] maior dificuldade dos jovens era de entrosamento entre si."

reflected, looking back on his youth in the 1970s and adolescence the decade following. “It was a Tower of Babel.” He underscored the tendency for regional cultural diversity to find expression in music: “And all of this was then locked into the music, into the artistic process in which we were involved”⁹⁶ (2005).

When describing the process of Brasília’s settlement and the growth of cultural practices, Cascão saw youth and music as two important aspects of the process that has created the city’s distinctively cosmopolitan identity. “[It was] the youth of Brasília, made up of Brazilians who came from all over, who make a Tower of Babel, who concentrated and constructed the musical identity of Brasília. What is it? Rock, rock and roll. The typical rock and roll from here”⁹⁷ (2005). Telling of the cosmopolitan atmosphere surrounding the formation of this musical identity is Cascão’s pronunciation of the phrase “rock and roll” *in English*, as opposed to the Portuguese “roquenroll.” But how does rock—a largely imported musical style, American and English in its roots and thoroughly cosmopolitan in its routes—become “typical” to a location geographically and culturally removed from its places of origin? Related to this question is, how does rock, arguably the most widespread and least place-specific of world musics, become someone’s and some place’s music?

⁹⁶ “Era uma torre de Babel. E o legal de Brasília era isso, essa diversidade cultural, regional. E isso tudo também foi depois encadeado dentro da música, dentro desse processo que a gente estava tentando trabalhar que era o processo artístico.”

⁹⁷ “. . . a juventude de Brasília, que é formada por brasileiros que vieram de todos os lugares, que faz uma [Torre de] Babel, que concentrou e formou a identidade musical de Brasília. Qual é? Rock, *rock and roll*. O *rock and roll* típico daqui.

One reason for its popularity with Brasiliense youth was (and continues to be) rock's greater accessibility, technically speaking, than that of much other music. It provides young musicians and those wanting to begin playing music more immediate gratification than some other styles. Since many of the youth in Brasília must not have been accomplished musicians in the diverse regional styles, rock would have seemed like an appealing alternative for a new band.

Another reason is that in rock, the youth of Brasília found common ground and a mode of expression open to all—it was non-regional, the importance of which should not be underestimated in a country where *bairrismo* (literally “neighborhoodism”) plays a strong role in structuring affiliations (this will resonate in the discussion on panels in the following chapter). Someone playing *gaúcho* music from the south of Brazil is unlikely to have found musical common ground with someone versed in *música caipira* from the interior of Mato Grosso.

Furthermore, rock would have been free from the class associations attached to regional Brazilian musical styles. Though in the US and UK rock was at different times associated with various economic and racial backgrounds, from southern white and black urban working class youth in Elvis- and Little Richard-era US, and the white urban working class in Beatles-era UK, to art-school-educated and middle-class youth in the heyday of progressive rock, in Brasília it appears that the music was imported without such specific social encoding. More accurately, it remained encoded with one bit of information: that it was youth music. In Brasília it was embraced by youth of the

demographic gamut. In Brazil more widely, from the earliest appearance of a rock movement with the Jovem Guarda in the late 1950s, rock became the subject of national debates pertaining to Brazilian issues.

One such issue was Brazil's wider geopolitical relationship with other countries. An acrimonious national debate around identity and the cultural course the country should chart pitted a popular, nationalist, intellectualized left, generally hostile towards cultural manifestations deemed foreign, against what was seen as a pro-American, pro-imperialist right. Fê Lemos and his rock-playing peers walked right into the middle of this debate when they started at the University of Brasília.

When we started college, a lot of people “twisted their noses” because [what we played] was rock, not Brazilian music. We were called “colonized,” we were labeled “Americanized” and everything else. And what could we say? Our idols were American and English. Perhaps we were the first products of globalization in Brazil.⁹⁸ (2005).

It is interesting to note that rockers time and again have been accused of being “alienated,” i.e. not politically engaged. This was a charge leveled against the rock and rollers of the Jovem Guarda with particular vociferousness; some individuals, like Wilson Simonal, were even accused of being informers for the military dictatorship (his name was recently cleared). The parallels between the experiences of Fê and his friends at the

⁹⁸ “Quando a gente entra na universidade, um monte de gente torce o nariz porque era rock, não era música brasileira. A gente foi chamado de ‘colonizados’, foi chamado de ‘americanizado’ e tudo mais. E o que a gente podia dizer? Nossos ídolos eram americanos e ingleses. Nós talvez fôssemos os primeiros produtos da globalização no Brasil.”

hands of their classmates and those of the rockers of a generation earlier converge on a single point: rock has been viewed as foreign and rockers as a threat to national, cultural sovereignty. As we saw in the previous section, Brasília's punk generation was anything but "alienated" from their reality. Playing rock music made sense, as it expressed aesthetically and politically who they felt themselves to be. Drawing a distinction between rock, cosmopolitan par excellence, and *maxixe*,⁹⁹ emblematic of national specificity in music, Fê attested:

We were Brazilians [making] music for Brazilians . . . music that had to do with the here and now. It wasn't an escapist music . . . it was a music deeply involved in its time, involved in the social conditions of the time. This for us guaranteed its value, whether it was rock or maxixe.¹⁰⁰ (2005).

For rockers, it was a cosmopolitan orientation, a translocal engagement with rockers everywhere, that motivated their music-making. Gilmar Santos said he began to write lyrics, many of them anti-war, in German, English, Spanish, as well as his native Portuguese, to show "that it was all the same thing"¹⁰¹ (2005).

Ideological affinities, such as those born through rock-making, may create a strong sense of connection. As Flávio Lemos recalled, "We got there [England] . . . when the Sex Pistols were coming up. . . . Boy, when we heard them and started to understand

⁹⁹ A rapid 2/4 dance music originating in Rio de Janeiro in the 1870s and seen as one of the streams of music that contributed to samba.

¹⁰⁰ "Nós éramos brasileiros [fazendo] músicas para brasileiros, . . . músicas que tinham a ver com o aqui agora. Não era uma música escapista, . . . era uma música entranhada no seu tempo, entranhada na sua condição social. Isso para nós já garantia o valor dela, independente de ser rock ou ser maxixe."

¹⁰¹ "que tudo é a mesma coisa."

the lyrics . . . we thought it was sensational”¹⁰² (2005). As discussed in the previous section, punk rock’s ideology of anarchist rebellion appealed to many of Brasília’s youth, who in the late 1970s and early 1980s found themselves with a local dictatorship to overthrow. Cascão and others attested to the power of the music and the desperation of the situation. Tracing a continuum from the folk-rock of Mel da Terra through punk rock to the hardcore of his current band Quebraqueixo, Paulo Mattos extended the ideological appeal of rock beyond Brasília’s particular situation and contextualizes it in what he sees as a global situation:

Rock, it’s as aggressive as the velocity with which man is destroying the world. It’s something more emphatic, hardcore is. It’s something very radical, as radical as the destruction At that time, in the 80s, our politics were much more focused on the moment that Brazil was going through. It wasn’t like now, when hardcore is a protest against the destruction of the world—we’re in a global village.¹⁰³ (2005).

Economic Impact of Place as Purpose

Gustavo Vasconcelos opined that “[t]he Plano Pilot was conceived to not have leisure [options].” Evidence for this is the difficulty of obtaining the proper *alvará de*

¹⁰² “A gente chegou lá [Inglaterra] . . . quando Sex Pistols estavam surgindo. . . . Putz, quando a gente ouviu e começou a entender as letras . . . a gente achou sensacional.”

¹⁰³ “O Rock, ele é agressivo na mesma medida da velocidade que o homem consegue destruir o mundo. É uma coisa mais enfática, o hardcore. Ele é uma coisa bem radical, tão radical quanto a destruição Naquela época dos anos 80, era uma política mais em relação ao momento que o Brasil passava. Não era igual hoje, que o hardcore é um protesto em relação à destruição do mundo, que hoje nós estamos numa aldeia global.”

funcionamento (license) for live music. Given the era, live music would have been the principal, if not only, kind of music entertainment foreseen when the Pilot Plan was designed. “The night clubs in Brasília don’t have the *alvará de funcionamento* for live music. The theaters in Brasília, the state-run ones, they don’t have the *alvará* for live music”¹⁰⁴ (Vasconcelos 2005). The planners’ vision of the city as a place of administration seems to have come with a blind spot: that Brasília’s inhabitants would want musical entertainment. This lacuna plays out in three ways that result in serious challenges for the rock scene: an urban plan that presents structural obstacles to the performance of rock; laws governing live performance and the production of sound; and a lack of government incentive for rock events. Architecture, urban design, the Law of Silence, and the difficulty of obtaining the proper *alvará* contribute to the problem of *place to play*, one of the chief discourses among rockers today.

The third, the lack of governmental economic incentive, is blamed on the man who was governor during my fieldwork, Joaquim Roriz, now a senator. The previous governor, Cristovam Buarque, reputedly stimulated and invested state funds in local cultural manifestations more, something that I could not independently verify. He is credited with improving life in the Pilot Plan in general through “education” (used to mean public awareness programs), making the city safer for pedestrians and cleaner, for example. Roriz, on the other hand, is accused of gifting public lands in the form of lots to inhabitants of “invasions” (the shanty towns that usually become satellite cities) and

¹⁰⁴ “O plano piloto foi concebido para não ter lazer. . . . As casas noturnas de Brasília não têm alvará de funcionamento para música ao vivo. Os teatros de Brasília, do governo de Brasília, não tem alvará para música ao vivo.”

satellite cities in exchange for votes. He is known for spending money on public works projects, such as widening roads, and building the third bridge across Lake Paranoá. In general, it is felt that he did things that would have immediate, material visibility and result in quick gains for his image.

Rubens, Gate's owner, stated:

Today the [state] government that's there has no cultural vision. The government that's there, Roriz's fourth mandate, its vision—even if it has a social vision, to build, to renovate, all right, the city looks pretty, green—but you see that deep down it's all politics to get votes And culture, I see culture today in Brasília completely forgotten And in Brasília we should have Porão do Rock every weekend—Porão do Rock is charging admission now! It never cost money. It costs money now because the government doesn't support it, and they have to pay the [musicians'] travel expenses, hotel expenses, so what do they do? Start charging admission! The idea was to never charge—the idea was always to be free, to be a cultural event, and to disseminate the musical culture of Brasília, Goiânia, of Brazil, right? The government has been absent [negligent] for years. It's not doing anything to advance the cause. And what ends up happening? The panelinhas start appearing.¹⁰⁵ (Rubens 2005).

¹⁰⁵ “Hoje, o governo que está aí não tem visão cultural. O governo que está aí, já pelo quarto mandado do Roriz, a visão dele – até que ele tem uma visão social, de construir, de reformar, tudo bem – fica bonita a cidade, verdinha . . . mas você vê que no fundo é tudo ligado à política pras campanhas terem cada vez mais voto. . . . E a cultura, eu vejo a cultura em Brasília hoje, totalmente esquecida . . . E Brasília é pra ter todo final de semana o Porão do rock. . . . O Porão do Rock agora está cobrando ingresso! Nunca cobrou

Porão do Rock, the largest of the Brazil's independent rock festivals, will be discussed in detail in Vignette 3. Panelinhas, or “little pots,” a subject of Chapter 4, are clique-like networks that often exercise economic protectionism.

There are official programs, such as Arte Por Toda Parte (“Art All Around”), which provides funds for all types of cultural events. But not all musical events can be sponsored; the musicians must be registered with the Secretary of Culture, a bureaucratic process understood by few, due to the poor circulation of information. Ronan, whose band P.U.S. is listed with the Secretary, called the program, “good for some people, always the same people”: an observation that the recipients of the funds appear to be either the same individuals, or more likely, a select set producing select kinds of events—a kind of preferential disbursement that favors certain kinds of arts and artists. It is an indictment often heard. Those who most benefit appear to be established, older musicians in the Pilot Plan; those in the satellite cities, especially in the underground, are in theory equally eligible, but in practice their art is much less likely to receive this kind of government support.

In a system where an omnipresent State is the central administrative and executive power, individuals look to it to be the patron for most everything. The private sector is not a traditional source for funding. If the State does not dedicate resources to the arts, they will suffer. The private sector in Brasília, and presumably throughout Brazil, is

ingresso. Está cobrando ingresso porque o governo não apóia, eles não têm como bancar as passagens, hospedagens, e tem que fazer o que? Botar ingresso! A idéia do Porão do Rock nunca foi cobrar ingresso. A idéia era pra ser sempre de graça. Pra ser um evento cultural. E divulgar a cultura musical de Brasília, Goiânia, do Brasil, né? O governo está muito omissa há anos. Ele não está fazendo nada pra que a coisa vai pra frente. E o que acaba acontecendo? Começa a ficar as panelinhas.”

beginning to invest in culture—the Lei Rouanet makes it possible for private businesses to deduct a certain amount from their income taxes for philanthropy. Musicians are discovering how to become eligible to receive these donated monies. But again, the information seems to travel in select circles. Those in the Pilot Plan have the greatest access. As Gilmar Santos explains,

The only exceptions [to the lack of support] that exists in Brasília’s market are the bands that are within the patronage scheme and manage to play under Arte Por Toda Parte, because there’s a specific cache that you get, no stings attached. We [ARD] got it because I had a friend who worked in a certain part [of the government] and said, “I can get you guys in. Go there and sign up.” We played last November and last month [May], we got the cache of R\$800 to split five ways, though they still charged us R\$180.¹⁰⁶ (Santos 2005).

Even under the program the money is slight and paid late. His testament underscores the importance of “QI” (*quem indica*, literally “who indicates/speaks [on your behalf]”)—a play on “IQ,” much like the aphorism “It’s not what you know, but who you know.” You need someone to speak on your behalf to get in the door.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ “A única exceção que existe no mercado de Brasília, são as bandas que estão no esquema de apadrinhamento e conseguem tocar pelo Arte Por Toda Parte, porque tem um cachê específico que você ganha livre de qualquer coisa. A gente conseguiu porque eu tinha um amigo que trabalhava em determinado órgão, e disse, “Eu consigo colocar vocês. Vai lá e faz a inscrição.” Nós tocamos em novembro passado e recebemos o cachê o mês passado, 800 reais de cachê para dividir para 5 e ainda descontaram 180 reais da gente.”

¹⁰⁷ Perhaps in Brasília, with the concentration of well connected families, the “QI” factor is even more important than in other parts of Brazil. Dona Carminha Manfredini remembered how, when “Rockonha” (whose name is a collision of the word “rock” and *maconha*, Brazilian slang for marijuana), a large party in the early 1980s, was busted up by the police, youth were rounded up according to who they were, i.e. to

Ronan reflected on the impact the lack of planning for culture has had on the rock scene and sees that rock's special needs are not met in any of the standard, available theaters. Consequently, to produce a show, he is hard pressed to find an affordable venue with adequate infrastructure that will hold a decent-sized audience:

Ronan: Culture wasn't well planned out here. The standardized things within [the ambit of] culture are what? A big theater that's super formal for you to rent out for R\$4000 without being able to have any "heavy" shows. . . . Do you know that Brasília has no "governing" space for rock? I am talking about a space just for rock—I'm not talking about Zouza Z, which during the week is for forró and who knows what else.

Jesse: What about there in the Dulcina Theater, downstairs?

Ronan: Christ, it's awesome there, but do you know how much the woman charges there? R\$1000—and there's no stage, no bathroom. . . . Man, I'm talking about a place like [Sala] Funarte, I'm talking about a place that already has sound equipment provided by the government and with technicians, with technicians for sound and lights, get it? So the musician gets there, does his show, and the venue takes just 15% of the box office—just that is the house's—and the rest is for the

whom they were related. "So they asked: 'Who here's father is in the military?' 'Me!' 'Stand over here!'. My son was with a girl who was a diplomat's daughter, and he just spoke English with the commander, who didn't know English, so he put him with the group of the diplomats' kids. They let him go and he wasn't jailed." ["Então ele falavam assim: 'Quem aí é filho de militar?' 'Eu!' 'Pra cá!' 'Aí meu filho estava com uma menina que era filha de diplomata, então ele só falou inglês com o comandante, mas o comandante não sabia falar inglês aí liberou e ele ficou junto com a turma dos diplomatas. Liberou e ele não foi preso.'"]

producer and the musician . . . I'm talking about that, get it? Talking about that.¹⁰⁸

(Ronan 2005).

When I asked him what he saw as a producer's greatest challenge, he replied:

Ronan: Lack of incentive.

Jesse: On whose part?

Ronan: On the part of the government From the private sector I get some incentive, since I have a better argument [i.e. a better sales pitch] than some people, you know? I provide a good structure. I put together a project plan to try to show that it's going to be well organized and not something done whatever way, you know? That the publicity is going to be worth it for them But it's so little money—R\$100 from each business, sometimes R\$200, but it never covers all of the costs of a production.¹⁰⁹ (Ronan 2005).

¹⁰⁸ “[A] cultura não foi bem pensada aqui foi as coisas As coisas padronizadas dentro da cultura que é o que um grande teatro que é super formal pra você pegar lá é quatro mil reais e não pode ter shows lá mais pesados Sabia que Brasília não tem um espaço governador pro rock? Eu to falando de um espaço só pro rock, não to falando Zona Z que durante a semana é forró e não sei o que lá

Jesse: “Lá no teatro Dulcina, lá embaixo?”

Ronan: “Porra é legal lá, mas sabe quanto a mulher cobra lá? Mil reais. Não tem um palco não tem um banheiro Eu to te falando de um lugar cara tipo a Funarte, eu tô falando de um lugar que já tenha um som bancado pelo governo e com a direção, com toda uma direção que tem um som legal que tenha uma luz entendeu e o musico chega lá, faz seu show e a casa só leva quinze por cento da bilheteria é da casa o resto é do produtor e do músico . . . falando disso entendeu? Falando disso

¹⁰⁹ Ronan: “Falta de incentivo.”

Jesse: “Da parte de quem?”

Ronan: “Da parte do governo o incentivo governamental mesmo, cultural até que é, incentivo é Das empresas incentivo privado que fala né? Das empresas a gente até tem porque eu tenho uma argumentação melhor do que de algumas pessoas e tudo entendeu. Eu faço uma estrutura legal, assim. Eu faço um projetinho pra apresentar pra tentar mostrar que vai ser organizado que não vai ser uma coisa feita de qualquer maneira entendeu, que a divulgação vai valer a pena pra eles, assim a gente tem, mas é assim tudo muito pouco é cem reais de cada um, duzentos às vezes é muito pouco então assim isso nunca cobre os custos totais de uma produção.”

The small amounts of money Ronan raises from businesses come from tattoo artists, “head” shops, music stores, t-shirts vendors, piercing salons, rock rehearsal and recording studios, and the like. These are not businesses for which philanthropy is an end in itself; rather, in return for a little publicity they donate tiny amounts of money, or vouchers for a service that can be raffled, because they understand that without this kind of solidarity the scene will suffer. They are of the scene, a part of it as much as the musicians, the producers, and the fans.

Ronan holds the same opinion of the Roriz government as Rubens. Roriz’s lack of support for culture is part of a legacy that places more weight on infrastructural projects and prioritizes the architectural treasures of the city over its less tangible, cultural heritage. He told the following joke to demonstrate popular suspicion of Roriz’s ethics:

The mayor of Tokyo, of New York and Roriz, the governor of Brasília—because here you can’t have a mayor, so it’ll be the governor in this case—they make a pact of conventions, one convention in each city, each one with his team visits each city and takes a tour to see the architectonic marvels and everything, after which the conventions and all would take place—parties, you know. Great. So, they’re in Tokyo, the three of them walking around the city and looking and stuff, when the Japanese goes: “You see that tower over there?” He looks and, man, everybody looks up above the clouds, “The most beautiful, the tallest tower in the world!” And the guys go, “Wow, how beautiful, what architecture, what an architect!” And the Japanese [patting his pocket]: “Ten percent here, hmm?”

[Laughs] “You sneaky guy, you’re too much.” So then they’re there in New York, and the American, walking around, says, “See that building there?” And the guys look and say, “Oh my, my-oh-my [eyes rising to the sky] *oh my, my-oh-my*, it’s taller than the Twin Towers, man! Marvelous! Beautiful!” “Thirty percent, hmm, in the pocket.” And: “Look at this guy, the American, ever so clever, you’re too much, man!” And, just as the world turns, they’re walking in Brasília, and Roriz goes: “See that overpass there?” And the guys say, “Overpass? Where?” Roriz: “100%.” [Laughs].¹¹⁰

The joke expresses a deep-seated suspicion of politicians and government in general. It also pokes fun at Roriz and Brasília—whereas the mayors of Tokyo and New York City show off major architectural feats of modernity and beauty, Roriz shows them an overpass. The choice of Tokyo and NYC—and, metonymically, the countries of Japan and the United States of America—as places of comparison suggests that Brasília and Brazil measure their progress and modernity against theirs.

In this chapter I presented *place as purpose* and theorized on impacts the “thought design” of the new capital has had on rock music and the rock scene. I presented three of

¹¹⁰ Ronan: “Prefeito de Tóquio, de Nova Iorque e o Roriz, né, o governador de Brasília, porque aqui não pode ter prefeito, então vale o governador, aí eles fizeram um acordo de congressos, um congresso em cada cidade eles iam fazer uma visita, eles e sua equipe a cada cidade pra ver as bem feitorias, né, arquitetônicas e tudo, e depois rolava um congresso e tudo, festas. Aí, beleza, estavam lá em Tóquio, os três andando pela cidade a pé e olhando. Aí o japonês: ‘Tá vendo aquela torre ali?’ Aí ele olhou e, cara, todo mundo olhou lá por cima das nuvens, ‘Lindíssima, a maior torre do mundo!’ Aí os caras: ‘Nossa, que linda, que arquitetura, que arquitetura!’ Aí o japonês: ‘Há dez por cento aqui ó’ [rindo]. ‘Demais danadinho . . .’ Aí, beleza, eles estavam em Nova Iorque lá, aí o Americano, lá andando, aí disse, ‘Ah, tá vendo aquele edifício ali?’ Aí os caras olharam e disseram, ‘Nossa, bicho, nossa, bicho, maior que as torres gêmeas, bicho. Maravilhoso! Lindo!’ ‘Trinta por cento ó no bolso.’ Aí ‘Ele, o americano, muito esperto muito, sempre demais, cara.’ Aí o ócios do ofício . . . estavam andando em Brasília, aí o Roriz: ‘Tá vendo aquele viaduto ali?’ Aí os caras: ‘Viaduto? Não.’ Aí ele: ‘Então, cem por cento.’ [Rindo].”

“rock’s refrains”: First, we looked into the youthfulness of the city, a product of its having been planned and constructed from scratch so recently, the paucity of leisure options, and the resultant tédio, or boredom, that Brasília’s adolescents experienced. As members of the 1980s generation reported, music-making was “a salvation,” to use the expression of Gustavo Vasconcelos. Second, we saw how Brasília as seat of the federal government and throne of a repressive and dangerous military dictatorship politicized the youth and precipitated the choice of punk rock as means for musical protest. Last, the city’s cosmopolitanism was interpreted as being a central cause of rock music being the music of choice for youth gathering in the capital from around the country and the world, for it (rock) best represented the mixture of people and places that Brasília was and continues to be.

To close the chapter, I outlined some of the economic challenges faced by rockers stemming from the city’s design. I attributed the perceived indifference of government to culture to the planning of the city as administrative center and federal capital. The rock scene also suffers from a lack of resource investment on the part of state government, which, it seems, prioritizes the completion of the city and the improvement of its infrastructure. The combination of almost total reliance on the State for support and a deep-seated suspicion of politicians’ crookery has effected a climate of frustration, finger-pointing, and pessimism. At the same time, even if not acknowledged, it has stimulated the very DIY approach that created a scene, has efficaciously maintained it, and has become one the scene’s highest values. Furthermore, signs of a burgeoning

practice of private businesses to contribute financially to the arts under the “Lei Rouanet” may signal a change for the arts. As they join the cadre of small-business owners who are part of the scene, who support it out of a love for the scene, money may become more readily available.

The issue of rock having no “governing” space (in Ronan’s words) and the troubles surrounding place to play will be further explored in the following chapter, “Architectonics 2: Place as Shape.” Its focus is the physical environment and its relationships to rock.

Vignette 1

F* the USA: Cosmopolitanism's Furious Face**

Cosmopolitanism, especially when defined and discussed within the ambit of the arts, always seems so, well, *wholesome*: people reaching out across the unjust divides of the political, linguistic, financial, religious, and otherwise cultural gulfs that create “an island of man” and split our single human race into a legion of clannish bands, marching not so much side-by-side as head-on, and to very different drummers. It’s Ulf Hannerz’s “happy face” cosmopolitanism, the one with “aesthetic and intellectual dimensions . . . enjoying new cuisines, new musics, new literatures” (2004: 71). With the world bobbing barely afloat in a maelstrom of ideological intolerance so malevolent that one feels the urge to fill the lungs and wait it out down below, any sort of bridge joining two or more communities seems like a godsend.

But what if the song that brings people together is itself a contestation—though not Hannerz’s “worried face” cosmopolitanism, the one “trying to come to grips with very large problems” (*ibid*), but that of a *furious face*, not interested in coming to terms with anything, just in venting a lacerating shriek, an unholy howl against something, denouncing it from the pit of the gut, exhorting listeners to *wake up and do something*. Is it still so rosy? Listeners may react like the figure in Edvard Munch’s *Skrik*, horrified, nauseated, panicked¹¹¹; they may turn their backs, offended; or they may resound

¹¹¹ Tomata du Plenty of the LA-based synthpunk Screamers may have had this in mind.

empathetically, like Bob Marley sang in a somewhat mellower vibe, “Who feels it knows it, Lord.”

In this vignette I shall present a song in three of its renditions as an example of this kind of cosmopolitanism.¹¹² Following its description I shall contextualize it in terms of the concept of cosmopolitanism as introduced in chapter one, dialoguing with Hannerz and offering ideas of my own to expand the conversation.

“U.S.A.,” a song by the notorious Scottish punk band The Exploited, first appeared on its 1982 album *Troops of Tomorrow*. Its lyrics denounce the US’s capitalism, warmongering foreign policy, and lack of concern for the environment.

“U.S.A.”¹¹³

The Exploited

[intro]

There really is nothing nice about U.S.A.
You go to hospital you got to pay.
The dollar is the language that they all speak.
They don't really bother about the radiation leak!

[refrain] Fuck the U.S.A.! (x4)

[interlude]

¹¹² One of the versions is that of my own band. I attempt in my analysis to assume a point of view equidistant from all versions.

¹¹³ For reasons of copyright, I could not include the song on the accompanying CD, but it can be heard together with a video here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3bZzM4s0Hgs> and here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rq7GUEsvH4o>.

They keep their secrets undercover.
The rich don't bother about those that suffer.
This ain't the land of milk and honey.
'cause all they want is money, money, money!

[refrain]

[solo]

...

(Notation of an excerpt of the song is included in Appendix 2.¹¹⁴). The song's introduction begins with eight measures of the drummer Dru Stix's loping, swinging solo, with emphasis on the toms and (single-pedal) kick drum and spare use of cymbals. An interlocking roll on the snare and floor toms lead up to bar five, giving the phrasing a four-bar feel. Four bars later he is joined by guitarist Big John Duncan and bassist Gary McCormack, who commence eight bars of half notes in A minor: A-C-B-D-A-C-B_B, holding the last note for two full bars. A dubbed-over second guitar joins in for this phrase's repetition in bar 17, giving the phrasing an eight-bar feel now. While the final B is being held in a fermata in bars 23-24, the vocalist, Wattie Buchan, shouts "Fuck the U.S.A.!" on a C5 followed by what sounds like "wherever!" though with one extra, indistinct syllable in the middle of the word.

This 24-bar introduction, with a tempo of 137, lasts 23 seconds; a count-in on the hi-hat signals the beginning of the main part, the tempo jumps to 288, and while Big John

¹¹⁴ For reasons of copyright, I could not include the song on the accompanying CD, but it can be heard together with a video here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3bZzM4s0Hgs>.

and McCormack riff on the same melody, Dru plays a syncopated figure on the kick drum countered by the back-beat snare and cymbals. When Wattie enters on the last eighth of bar 40 to begin the first strophe, bass, guitar, and kick drum begin a phrase in which they ring squarely on the eighth notes. Wattie expectorates each line into the front half of each four-bar phrase in a growling, accent-laden yell around the A just below C5. The first strophe lasts 16 bars, with Wattie singing four lines. The guitar line of the refrain is one bar each of A-E-C (Wattie yells “Fuck the U.S.A.! Fuck the US—”) and then B for a dotted quarter, C for the same, and B again for a beat (each note corresponding to one letter as the chorus shouts “U.S.A.!”), before landing on the A for the downbeat of the next bar. This is repeated four times. A 16-bar interlude of musical material nearly identical (but slightly more subdued) to that of the verses precedes the next stanza. A 16-bar solo in heavy metal, “shredding” style substitutes the interlude between the second and third stanzas, thus modifying the stanza-refrain-interlude sequence. A brief (six-second) jumble of voice and instruments ends the song, which in its entirety clocks in at three minutes and 22 seconds.

The song’s feel is 2/4, and the emphasis in Dru Stix’s introduction recalls the “oom-pah” of a typical march. The third refrain’s reference to a bomb dropping on civilians suggests an ironic indexing of this musical and cultural form. The dynamic symbol for *fortississimo*, the loudest marking conventionally used, is meant to show that the “volume” of the music is high enough, and the requisite pedals and effects (such

as “overdrive” and “distortion”) are used, to achieve the desired, aggressive level of loudness. It remains at a constant level throughout the piece.

Gilmar Santos, leader and singer of the punk and hardcore band ARD (“After Radioactive Destruction”) he founded in 1984 in the satellite city of Gama, wrote his band’s version in October 2001. He reported feeling pained at the loss of innocent lives on 9/11, yet vindicated in his sentiment that US foreign policy had long been calling, to paraphrase Malcolm X, the chickens to come home to roost. When the 43rd president launched his attacks on the country supposedly harboring the terrorist group responsible and began to polarize the world into those “for” the terrorists and those “against” them, Gilmar wrote the lyrics below.

The music in ARD’s version (see track 16 on the CD) departs from the original in several significant ways. First is the opening: no drums, just two very crunchy, distorted guitars (Maurício GB and Rafael Ciampi). We feel the meter to be in four, but the emphasis is different from the original: it is squarer. There is melodic difference, too: the intervals are the same, but the key has changed. Guitarist Rafael Ciampi explained it this way: the key is Em, but as the sixth string of each guitar (and bass) is tuned two whole steps down to C (a common practice in different metal styles; see the section on genres pp. 121-127), it sounds like Cm. I have notated it (see Appendix 2) as it is voiced: The introduction is eight bars of half notes of F-Ab-G-Eb. While one guitar holds each note, the other strums a “chugging” rhythm on a single, difficult-to-define pitch. The chugging rhythm is reminiscent of the original, but evokes both thrash metal and death metal—the

former for the chugging convention, the latter for the timbre. The guitars sound like they've been fitted with rusty razor wire in place of strings. It has a stomping-skipping feel (ONE-TWO-THREE-four-and) for three bars, then gallops (ONE-two-and-THREE-four-and) for a bar before repeating. This cadence and the exact rhythmic and melodic repetition (also different from the original) give the song the feel of a four-bar phrase. Thus the tempo calculates to a quarter note as equal 170—a bit faster than, but still within range of, the original.

On the ninth bar, bassist Vander Batista and drummer Juliano “Bin-Bin Laden” Lopes join in. Vander supports the melody, while Juliano gives emphasis to the one and three. The downbeats of bars 18 and 19 receive extra emphasis with the substitution of accented sixteenth notes on the snare. A curt roll on the snare in bar 24 angles up to the next downbeat, signaling the end of the thrashcore introduction, and the song metamorphoses into hardcore: the backbeat with its “tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá” figure, in which the bass drum (“tu”) and snare and hi-hat (“pá”) alternate; the guitars strum once per bar for the first three measures of the phrase, then carve what sounds like a triplet out of every fourth bar. The tempo decreases slightly to 160 quarter notes per minute.

After this 40-bar intro, lasting 29 seconds, Gilmar jumps into the first stanza with a pick-up to bar 41. The translation of the lyrics is mine and appears in italics beneath each line. According to Gilmar, “devô” in middle of the second stanza is an homage to the band Devo and means “devolution.”

“Fuck the U.S.A.”

by ARD

lyrics: Gilmar Santos

music: The Exploited/ARD

2001 (forthcoming 2007)

[intro]

Feridos no orgulho agora vão pirar

Their pride wounded, now they'll go crazy

Inocentes massacrados dos dois lados

Innocents massacred on both sides

Qual o preço de uma guerra pra civis?

What's the civilian cost of a war?

Mandar no mundo é sonho de imbecis!

To rule the world is the dream of imbeciles!

[refrain] Fuck the U.S.A.! (x4)

[interlude]

Inteligência contra poder militar

Intelligence versus military power

Bactéria antraz pra finalizar

Anthrax bacteria to finish it off

Terror, pavor, horror, ardor, devô

Terror, fear, horror, burning, devolution

O algoz de ontem hoje vacilou!

Yesterday's hostage-taker made a mistake today!

[refrain]

[solo]

Vietnam, Pearl Harbor envergonhou

Vietnam and Pearl Harbor caused shame

Fracasso no Iraque e Afeganistão

Failure in Iraq and Afghanistan

Falsa impressão de um mundo a seus pés

Mistaken impression of a world at their feet

Falhando em proteger seu próprio cú!

Failing to protect their own ass!

[refrain]

The riff during the refrain is F-C-Ab-G-F-C-Ab-Bb, chunked out in the rhythmic pattern established by The Exploited (where the final three notes underscore “U.S.A.!”).

The 16-bar solo is a return to the thrash metal introduction. Whereas The Exploited’s original repeats the first verse to make a fourth, ARD’s version ends after the third refrain. Gilmar’s delivery is stylistically in line with Wattie’s: he snarls each line through a tight throat, marching each phrase into the first half of the four-bar line. Both singers frequently contract or elide syllables to force long phrases into the tempo and rhythmic pattern of the music. As with the original, the target loudness is the maximum and remains steady for the duration of the song.

As of this writing the song has not been released on record, making the audience’s experience of it purely a live one. The significance of this detail is that only the refrain is

well known—a result of public familiarity with the original, the clarity of the refrain’s enunciation, its repetition, and its semiotic appeal. Words and phrases within the stanzas, however, remain a skein of sounds that blur by in obscurity, their meaning muddled by low fidelity, over extended circuitry and the convention of turning up everything equipped with a volume dial to the maximum tympanic membranes will tolerate. From the audience’s point of view, then, Gilmar’s performance is, like many others in the hardcore, punk, and more extreme metal scenes, a performance of signs with little or no semantic content: the feral growl, hot glare and carnassial sneer, russet chest and belly bared and tattooed, the agitated, salivary pace of a hyena—even the contented, vaguely glandular gaze as he surveys the crowd between songs—communicate emotion, a positioning of attitude vis-à-vis the object of denunciation, often up to the listener to infer or select. What the curl of a contemptuous upper lip conveys, words can only supplement. ARD’s version lasts a mere two minutes and two seconds.

The first half of X-GRANITO’s rendition (see track 17 on the CD) follows ARD’s in lyrics, The Exploited’s in music, and structurally is a combination of the two. The tempo of the 24-bar introduction is nearly identical to that of The Exploited (140) and lasts 21 seconds. oi nellie!’s drawn-out “Fuck the U.S.A. no Brasil!” (“no Brasil” = “in Brazil” in Portuguese), bellowed in a rising-pitch crescendo that climaxes in a shredded roar kicks off the second introduction, and the tempo jumps to 153. Throughout the song, oi nellie!’s performance practice differs substantially from that of either of the previous vocalists. He intones each line in such a way that words and music are layered

more or less evenly across each four-bar phrase. All three vocalists deliver each line around a single consistent tonal center, though oi nellie! inflects individual words and strings of sounds with a more varied palette of timbre, tone color, and vocalic techniques. In the version included on the CD, both his lead vocal and a self-harmonizing track can be heard. Live on stage he more embodies than recites the lyrics, face transmuting from grimace to glower of daggers, from incongruous, toothy beam to livid, carotid quaver. Gangling and graceful, now artless, now contrived, first he is a fumble of elbows, knees and knuckles, then a torso on the cusp of rupture. He is a contorted cargo of nightmare statuary, blocking out the story.

X-GRANITO's chorus at times shouts "E.U.A." instead of "U.S.A." (it being the Portuguese translation of the abbreviation). aleXmarX's overdubbed 16-bar guitar solo between the second and third stanza is simultaneously a bending caterwaul that starts on E and climbs in fits and starts to the A two and a half octaves above where it began, hitting the "yellow note"¹¹⁵ of Ab, and sloping, downward drifting glide towards a low A. Following the third and final refrain of this first part, drummer gajeman leaves marked time, invoking a sense of controlled chaos as he stabs at cymbals, rolls on toms, snaps the rim of the snare. Bassist g-bits (the same Gilmar Santos of ARD) and guitarist aleXmarX depart each in his own rhythmic and melodic direction, while oi nellie! heaves out a strained sigh of exhaustion, then at the peak of despair and fury, barks the names of

¹¹⁵ A term I have used to describe a note that sounds wrong, but does not, as a blue note does, reference a familiar tonal pattern.

various members of the Bush administration, including the president himself, damning each with a vitriolic “Fuck you!” This first half lasts 2:36.

A falsetto cry of “Fuck my mama!” signals the beginning of part two, “Foda-se Brasil!”, literally “Go fuck yourself, Brazil!” gajeman’s tempo increases to 168 and the rhythm takes on typical hardcore characteristics, such as the “tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá” beat. The melody and harmony remain the same, but the structure changes to omit the 16-bar interval between stanzas and sutures the gap formerly filled by aleXmarX’s solo. As the final refrain ends, a reduced version of the controlled chaos that joined parts one and two ensues. The recorded version ends with oi nellie!’s shout of “Brasília, vai tomar no cú!” timed to end with the final snare shot, but in live performance “Brasília” is replaced by the name of the city where the band is performing. The phrase following the city name is a popular Brazilian vulgarity, literally an exhortation for someone to “take it in the ass,” but corresponding both in meaning and occasion to the American “go fuck yourself.” It is far more often heard in teasing situations than truly aggressive ones, so in this context it comes across much as described above in reference to Gilmar’s persona, as semiotically punk. This second part lasts, for hardcore, a rather lengthy 1:23.

“Fuck the U.S.A./Foda-se Brasil”

X-GRANITO

Lyrics: Gilmar Santos (part 1) and oi nellie! (part 2)

Music: The Exploited

2005 (released 2007)

Part 1:

Follows lyrics of ARD's version.

[intro, stanza, refrain, interlude, stanza, refrain, solo, stanza, refrain, outro]

Part 2:

[intro]

Não alucino não, isso é pura observação

I don't hallucinate, this is pure observation

Calo a boca nunca, seria pura traição

I never shut my mouth, which would be pure treason

Sou punk da gema, não grito ao léu

I am punk to the core, I don't shout in vain

O verde-amarelo vai pro beleléu!

The green and yellow is going to pot!

[refrain] Foda-se Brasil! (x4)

Dizem que nós "panque" somos apenas pichador

They say we punks are nothing but "taggers" (vandals)

Quem picha o teu país é deputado e senador

The ones tagging (vandalizing) your country are the deputies and senators

Roubar dá Ibope, chorar faz herói

Stealing makes you famous, crying makes you a hero

Olha o placar: Fome Zero – Caixa Dois!

Just look at the scoreboard: Hunger 0 – "Caixa 2"¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ "Fome Zero" is the name of President Lula's ambitious program to eradicate hunger, while "Caixa Dois" is the name given to a money-laundering scandal that wracked Lula's Workers Party (PT) throughout much of his first term and, together with the congressional cash-for-votes scheme between the PT and PTB (Brazilian Labor Party) known as the "Mensalão," undermined the discourse of ethics preached by the PT while part of the opposition.

[refrain]

Mulher, carnaval, religião, seleção –

Women, carnival, religion, the football team --

Chega Mané! Samba não é solução!

Enough Jack! Samba's not a solution!

O povo vira punk, anarco, ateu,

The people are turning punk, anarchist, atheist

O verde-amarelo vai pro beleléu!

The green and yellow is going to pot!

[refrain]

[outro]

Let's review the stages in the development of this musical conversation. First, a Scottish band comments in song on the United States of America in return-to-roots punk, at the time already a transnational musical style. Second, almost two decades later, a Brazilian band engaged in the making of music modeled on a style from the UK and the US, but much more widespread, makes this song by the Scottish band partially their own by altering aspects of the composition and writing lyrics in Portuguese that deliver a message about the domestic and global consequences of the US's foreign policy. Third, a skewbald band half-Brazilian and half-American—with one member of another of the bands engaged in this exchange—adopts the Brazilian lyrics in homage to the Brazilian band, but reverses the latter's musical innovations to more closely resemble the Scottish

original; then in discursive response to the conversation begun 23 years earlier, splices this together with a new version that refocuses the lyrics on local Brazilian conditions (themselves found in general form in many, if not most, countries) and modifies the music to embed it within both the local and translocal hardcore scenes.

If we agree with Hannerz that cosmopolitanism entails an “involvement with a plurality of contrasting cultures to some degree on their own terms” and “an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other” (1996: 103), then “U.S.A.” and the versions it spawned show a distinct cosmopolitan engagement across their collective history. Beginning with the second half of his proposition, who is the Other here? As always it is a matter of vantage. In the first instance, it may be the whole US, a particularly significant other in Scottish rockers' own musical history; it may be certain Americans, those that “speak the language” of the dollar; it may be the US government, threatening the world through nuclear irresponsibility and secretive military activities; it may be the capitalist element of the American state, putting profit ahead of the health and wellbeing of its citizens. The sufferers are both self and other, the second person implying the first. In ARD’s version, the Other seems to be on the one hand the imperialist American state and, on the other, the innocent victims of the former’s unrestrained bellicosity. The US is othered via its reductive depiction as a vindictive, Godzilla-like, global menace. Its prey is othered through its silencing. In X-GRANITO’s rendering, the Other is at first all of Brazil, synecdochically referred to by the predominating colors of its flag. In the second stanza, the Other becomes first the individual Brazilian, then specifically politicians. In

the third stanza, it goes back to its first, more general meaning. In all versions, Hannerz's stipulation that the engagement—in this case, that of the bands—be “willing” is satisfied.

In the first part of the proposition, the salient aspects are that the cultures involved be contrasting and a plurality, and that the engagement be to some degree on the Other's terms. Contrast and the condition of otherness are, in effect, one and the same. Othering is achieved by the establishment of contrasts. Plurality is obtained by the inclusion of more than one subject, and in each version at minimum two cultures are in contact. The third requirement, that the terms be the Other's, is, upon contemplation, open to debate, for it implicates issues of ownership, authenticity, origins, and the like. The terms of engagement in this case are multifaceted, as it occurs in discursive, musical, and artifactual modes. Discursively, the other's language is used at the very least in the refrain (ARD's version); at most it is preserved in the entire song (both The Exploited's and X-GRANITO's versions). The metaphors (e.g. punk/politician as tagger/vandal), images (e.g. “land of milk and honey”) and points of reference (e.g. “anthrax bacteria”, “Fome Zero – Caixa Dois”) employed are readable by the Other in each case. Musically the terms are punk, rock, hardcore, metal—styles defined by instrumental, rhythmic, and compositional conventions originating in the UK and US and developed in the milieu of the international scene. Artifactually, the terms are the media of exchange, i.e. phonograms in vinyl, tape, and CD, live performances, and now downloadable digital form, media to which all those involved have some degree of access and can convert to meaningful communication.

“U.S.A.” represents a habitat of meaning where communities of different countries, languages, ancestry, religions, etc. converge to share points of view, experiences, and interpretations, thus contributing to a corpus of knowledge with epistemological, ideological, methodological, and phenomenological histories. The versions of “U.S.A.” are the focus of this exposition of a twist on the aspects, or “faces,” of cosmopolitanism customarily observed and analyzed. But the habitat that englobes the purely sonic includes multiple other expressions in different media. Youtube.com, a host for individuals to post their work in video, share their opinions, and form communities around similar interests, showed at the writing of this text three videos directly related to the song but NOT of The Exploited’s making: one person posted a video of the original song played to a pastiche of images of the invasion and occupation of Iraq; another, while retaining the original’s refrain rewrote both lyrics (about US torture, pre-emptive strikes, disregard for the UN, and thirst for oil) and music and played the new composition to a series of images including a mushroom cloud, the McDonald’s logo, and Margaret Thatcher; the third was of a live cover performance of a rock band in a basement or similar venue in a francophone country.

The agents engaged in the communication—all those involved in the musicking, not just the bands—of this knowledge may or may not physically transit the geographies where the Others’ communities lie; the flow of knowledge, musical or otherwise, does not depend on physical dislocation. (It is worth reflection to note that cosmopolitanism per se does not democratize spatial flow, does not do away with social inequality and

differential access to resources.) If physical movement were necessary for a habitat's existence, knowledge's dissemination would more closely adhere to geographic and demographic enclosures. I would suggest that flow is a product of transmissibility and intelligibility, the first a question of ways, means, and methods, the second of a subject's acuity and an object's perspicuity. If flow happens, then a habitat of meaning is maintained, perhaps expanded to include more parties' contributions. "U.S.A." over the two and a half decades since its first appearance on record has formed a habitat that has grown to include multiple non-contiguous sites where speech communication has not always been a feasible means of mutual understanding. Further, the song and its communities are good examples of the inadequacy of culture and society as analytical categories. Its habitat cuts across organizational units like these, disregarding the contours of such subsets of human community; it traces porous borders aligned along affinities, adhesion to which is voluntary, affective, and non-exclusive (i.e. an agent is not prevented from participating in multiple habitats). Exclusivity is a most salient feature of cultures and many societies.

When we say that a musical style "cuts across different demographic groups," or use some such phrase to point up its widespread appeal, we may be saying that it appeals to people engaged in habitats of meaning dedicated to the production of quite discrete areas of knowledge. I believe punk, hardcore, rap, and other musical styles both fundamentally DIY in ideology and tending towards a critical stance vis-à-vis culture and society are appealing to participants of varied habitats for reasons of the agency they

encourage and the cosmopolitanism that inheres in their musicking. The notion that one can do something about oppression, for example, can effect a positive sense of self; the realization that the knowledge to which the musicking of these styles conduces can be shared widely may erode the alienation from community that disempowered people sometimes feel.

The example of cosmopolitanism I have introduced has characteristics of both the aesthetic/experiential and the political/programmatic categories (Hannerz 2002). The former describes the happy-face sort, and the latter the worried face, but neither category is exhausted by these “emoticons.” Cosmopolitanism’s furious face is aesthetic and experiential in that the vehicle for communication is a song, the mode musical. The bodily act of listening, the experience of visceral immersion in the music—dancing in the mosh pit perhaps—these are key parts of engaging the energy, the message, and, ultimately, the Other. It is also political and programmatic, in so far as it addresses socio-political issues within a larger discussion of world policy, thereby encouraging their contemplation. The song offers sympathetic listeners a program of action, implicitly and explicitly encoded: rejection, repudiation, the “middle finger.”

The middle finger as sign is as translocal as is the song. The emotivity of both song and sign (seen at punk shows on at least three continents) is the source of their receptivity, so far flung from original context, time, and place. Turino’s emphasis on cosmopolitanism’s translocality, discussed in chapter one, may at times make it appear that cosmopolitanism is an intermediate step between local uniqueness and global

ubiquity; such transformation may occur, even with frequency, but I do not believe it to inhere in the concept. Too deterministic, too “progressivistic,” too one-way for a world that’s round, such thinking is attractive but misleading. It fails to explain the prevalence of certain gestures, commodities, and ideas within restricted areas that show no sign of further spreading, or those that actually retreat, wane in intensity, or diminish in currency. Latin as cosmopolitan language is an example par excellence of this reverse trend; its mutations into dialects and then distinct languages must also be accounted for by a general theory of globalism.

Hannerz wonders if “[g]iven the asymmetrical relationships of global society, it is perhaps not self-evident that cosmopolitanism is an equally viable and desirable commitment for people everywhere. Is this primarily a noble, compassionate humanitarianism suitable only for ‘world citizens’ at the privileged centers of the global social order, while the societies and people of peripheral regions may have other priorities?” (2004: 83). Cosmopolitanism’s furious face complicates the center/periphery model, as flow in punk travels between epicenters. There is no single, panoptic center when the sites of knowledge’s production are multiple, dispersed, and networked. Priorities, yes, will differ from community to community, from epicenter to epicenter, but these differences, I intuit, will not necessarily show correspondence with (physical) location. They may to some degree correspond with levels of privilege, but what is notable in the example under examination here is that the agents involved do not possess the same privileges—if these are measured in the way Hannerz’s question implies, i.e. in

access to diverse types of capital. Even within any one of the bands making the versions herein presented, one finds substantive variations in privilege. These agents' cosmopolitanism does not strive for nobility, though scrutiny of the lyrics will show it to be compassionate. And it is seemingly quite viable for many, in spite of the posited global asymmetries. Hannerz's question merits lengthy contemplation; I am led to believe that it will affirm his concerns when the kinds of cosmopolitanism he has theorized—its happy and worried faces—detain our thoughts. Perhaps cosmopolitanism's furious face is less elitist than either of its other countenances.

In closing, I would like to ask how what I've named "cosmopolitanism's furious face" impacts the idea of a cosmopolitan class. It is a specialized knowledge that characterizes this class, a knowledge that can be ported from one locale to another without diminishing in relevance—whence cosmopolitans derive their social capital. Indeed, as mentioned in chapter one, Hannerz contrasts this kind of knowledge with that which is rooted in unique settings and tied to specific others. If what determines insertion in the class is familiarity with a specific knowledge, then working with "U.S.A." acts as such a credential for the participants of its habitat. Knowledge of the furious-face type may put a different spin on the aspect of class. Can or should members of The Exploited, ARD, and X-GRANITO, for example, be seen as constituting a class? If so, the traditional economic assumptions of the cosmopolitan class must be altered. These are the new cosmopolites, ones who tend to hold little to none of the economic and political power once required for circulation among members of the cosmopolitan class. Theirs is

a capital of another, less jealously guarded type: it's a knowledge, a fury, and the energy, means, and commitment to shout it out far and wide.

Chapter 4

Architectonics 2: Place as Shape

In this chapter we shall observe two major ways in which place as the physical environment is related to the rock scene. The physical environment here includes built elements and design elements (see previous chapter for discussion on the term “design”), which together I have termed “shape.” My discovery of a socio-spatial homology will be examined in greater detail, as I shall show specific ways in which it infuses the local rock scene with certain characteristics.

In the first part of the chapter, I shall discuss the Pilot Plan’s architecture and demonstrate, through narratives of Brasília’s rock history, how this aspect of the city’s built environment has influenced the rock scene from its efflorescence in the 1980s until the present. The first refrain investigated is that Brasília’s architecture, typically described as cold, sterile, and monotonous, somehow “inspired” rock music, even if in a dystopian way. The second refrain to be analyzed is “There’s no space,” and it will become evident that the issue of *place to play*, introduced in the previous chapter, has structural links to the constructed environment. As we better understand the economic and social causes and effects that are nested within this discourse, we will gain another perspective on the socio-spatial homology and the ways it has influenced the rock scene.

The trajectory of the chapter’s second part will examine the two moieties of the urban plan, the social and musical discrimination rockers experience, and the two scenes

that are maintained as a result, one mainstream and one underground. The native category of the “tribe” will be presented. One result of the economic struggles that rockers feel, regardless of scene or tribe, is the formation of “closed pots,” leading us to the chapter’s third and closing refrain. The three discourses of architectural “inspiration,” lack of space and “closed pots” link the two scenes; they are common to both mainstream rock and the underground. Our examination of these discourses will, however, afford us a view that penetrates into and reveals the social divisions that characterize both city and rock scene, and account for the existence of two cities and two scenes within one.

Rock’s Refrains 4: Rock and an architecture “frigid and sterile”

Brasília has a reputation for being a cold city, in a social sense, meaning that people are not *caloroso* (like “warm” plus “friendly”) as they allegedly would be, were this a traditional city. Various reasons are given, among them the city’s newness, its heterogeneity, the transience of a large part of its population, and its status as federal capital. It is to be inferred that an old, traditional, homogeneous, stable and perhaps politically unremarkable city would be more welcoming and more comforting to live in. It seems that the nostalgia for the traditional, typical Brazilian life underlies this vision.

But the reason most frequently cited is the city’s physical, constructed environment: its architecture and its urban design. Gilmar Santos’s quote from Chapter 3, in which he called the architecture “frigid” and Brasília a “living crèche” is typical in its meaning (if poetic in its expression). In general, it is assumed that these have had an

affect on the people living here, provoking them to act in antisocial ways. This is not to say that people do not see the benefits of the life that Brasília makes possible; many people told me that once they got used to life here, they found it difficult to imagine living elsewhere. The physical openness, the green spaces, the organization, the relative lack of traffic, the very negotiable distances between destinations (in comparison with Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo), the convenience of life, the generally agreeable climate (though no one likes the extreme dryness of July and August), etc. It is remarkable how persistently the city, especially the built environment, appears as an almost living entity in people's reflections on life in Brasília. As I shall discuss in the conclusion, a local identity, an image of what it means to be Brasiliense, is not clear in people's minds, yet that the city has a presence and a role in making life here unique is all but unanimous.

Rockers use the city's architecture and design as a way of explaining how rock began, and why the scene is the way it is today. A common observation is that the city has no street corners, no beach, and no public squares—so where are people supposed to gather?

Brasília has no beach, has no street corners. Because in coastal cities, like Rio, Recife, and Salvador, the beach is where everyone gathers, meets each other—one guy gets to know another guy, who knows a girl, and people meet each other—it's a cultural place. Other cities have street corners, bars—a guy walks up, meets one guy, meets another guy, stops on the corner, like that. It might be a stereotype, but it might also have a base of truth to it. . . . I think [Brasília] did not provide the

same convivial environment that other cities did, for the very reason of space—the city had much more open space. In other cities, people live stuck together, bumping in to one another . . . (Carvalho 2005).¹¹⁷

The city is not as empty as it once was, in the 1970s and 80s, for example, the era to which the above quote refers. It has been steadily built up, and the population has grown continuously. Yet it still is much more spacious than other cities of its size and population, and, except for the bar, it still lacks the traditional meeting points mentioned above. If the sky is poetically called Brasília's sea, shopping malls are ironically referred to as its public squares. In malls, bars, in the foyers of movie theaters, and at music events people encounter others in the random, spontaneous way they would in a city square, or at the beach.

If the emptiness of the city separated people, it could, paradoxically, bring determined youth together. As Flávio Lemos and Paulo Mattos said in the previous chapter, if you wanted to do something, you had to go out and make it happen, find people to do it with. Remembering his friends Marcelo Bonfá (drummer of Legião Urbana) and Dinho Ouro Preto (singer of Capital Inicial), Flávio Lemos compared Brasília, the city of his youth, with São Paulo, where he has lived since his band moved there in 1985.

¹¹⁷ “Brasília não tem praia, não tem esquina. Por que nos lugares litorâneos, no Rio, Recife, Salvador. A praia é lugar onde todo mundo se encontra, se conhece, um cara conhece um cara que conhece um outro cara que conhece uma menina e as pessoas vão se encontrando, é um ponto cultural. As outras cidades tem a esquina, tem o boteco, o cara chega, conhece um, conhece outro, para na esquina . . . e coisa e tal. Isso pode ser um estereótipo, mas pode ter um fundo de verdade também . . . Eu acho que não tinha muito a convivência que tinha nas outras cidades, até pela questão do espaço, a cidade tinha muito mais espaço livre. Nas outras cidades as pessoas já vivem mais grudadas, esbarrando um no outro . . .”

Bonfá also lived in North Wing, Dinho at the end of South Wing. Here in São Paulo you're not going to go out with someone who lives [across town]—first of all, you'll never even get to know him. You won't have a chance, it's too hard When you're a kid, your group is there in your neighborhood, and Brasília doesn't have that, that thing of neighborhoods. So, we just got together [with whomever, wherever] and did what was necessary. (Flávio Lemos 2005).¹¹⁸

An oft-heard opinion on the general effect of the modernist, functionalist architecture on residents' sociability is that the apartment buildings separate people from one another. People complain of not knowing their neighbors, of only meeting each other in the elevators, some of which in the more expensive buildings serve only two apartments per floor (totaling 12), restricting even more the range of encounters. To Ronan, the well-known local producer of small and mid-sized metal and some hardcore shows, this distance influences people's social behaviors. Talking about the twin problems of attendance at shows and opportunities to play, he discoursed on the relationships between construction of the city and its residents' attitudes:

Brasília, people in Brasília, Jesse, maintain their distance, see? . . . The youth here keep totally to themselves, see? The city itself was built—you know, Niemeyer planned things so that people wouldn't interact so much. Why? It's why the

capital was moved from Rio. They were having revolutions, demonstrations, and

¹¹⁸ Bonfá também morava na Asa Norte, o Dinho no final da Asa Sul, aqui em São Paulo você não vai sair com um cara que mora . . . primeiro, você não vai nem conhecê-lo. Não vai ter nem chance, é muito difícil. . . . [Q]uando você é moleque, sua turma vai ser ali, sua vizinhança, e Brasília não tinha muito disso, de vizinhança. Então, se juntava e fazia o que for preciso.

nobody wanted this. So they built Brasília with these buildings, blocos—your neighbors here, they don’t shout, “Hey, lend me a kilo of sugar!” No, they have to go out of their house, open the door, “knock-knock-knock” on the other person’s door, and talk like this [in a discreet voice]: “Lend me a kilo of sugar, please?” [Laughs]. So Brasília has this distance [built-in]. People are cold here. That’s why the youth think they’re the shit.¹¹⁹ (2005).

He linked this directly with “the lack of spirit of initiative on the part of the bands, of interacting more with the public,” and of “putting together their own shows.”¹²⁰

The atomizing of the social body into discrete compartments is mitigated to a degree by the common space below the apartments, the celebrated space *em baixo do bloco* (“beneath the block”), the ground-level area among the *pilotis* (pilasters) where children play, adolescents hang out, young couples kiss, and older people gather to chat and walk dogs. In buildings in the 100, 200, and 300 quadras, the *porteiro* (“doorman”) is also there, and like a prairie dog, he watches all goings-on, popping in and out of his vestibule to take care of sundry tasks. He is doorman, babysitter, deliverer of packages, resolver of petty problems, and the Hermes of gossip. He, and the *zelador* (“caretaker”)

¹¹⁹ “Brasília, as pessoas em Brasília, Jesse, são muito distantes, saca? . . . Galera aqui, neguinho aqui, é distante pra caralho, entendeu? A própria cidade foi construída, sabia né, que o Niemayer, ele projetou para que as pessoas fossem distantes umas das outras, por que? Por isso que a capital saiu do Rio. Estavam tendo muitas revoluções, muitas manifestações, e ninguém queria isso. Aí construíram Brasília com prédios, blocos. Os vizinhos aqui, eles não gritam, “Ô, me empresta um quilo de açúcar!” Não, tem que sair da casa, abrir a porta, “toc-toc-toc,” bater na outra, e falar assim, “Me empresta um quilo de açúcar por favor.” . . . Rs . . . Então, Brasília tem isso, essa distância, cara. As pessoas aqui são frias. Por isso que a adolescência aqui se acha pra caralho.”

¹²⁰ “Eu acho que é devido à falta de atitude de iniciativa das bandas próprias, de se interagir mais com o público, entendeu? De fazer as próprias festas, os próprios shows, entendeu bicho?”

of the blocos in the 400 quadras, still have their living quarters beneath some of the blocos, where they may reside with their immediate family, but increasingly their homes have been replaced with social halls, used for condominium meetings, birthday parties, and other social events.

The open space *em baixo do bloco* occasions reminiscence for many who grew up in Brasília's apartments. Fê Lemos arrived in Brasília with his family as a young boy in 1968 and lived in the Colina, the special *quadra* for those affiliated with the University of Brasília. In the quote below, he recalls those days and interprets the impact on his friends of Brasília's spaces and spaciousness, both *em baixo do bloco* and the area immediately surrounding the Colina:

I loved that space. From the time I was a child I learned to coexist with it, and we used to explore the *cerrado* [the region's biome] when we were kids. The very story of hanging out *em baixo do bloco*—we were able to play *em baixo do bloco*. We rehearsed *em baixo do bloco*. Monjolo [a rock band local to the Colina] played in the grass in front of the building. I think the space gave us more the feeling of freedom. We didn't play closed in, you know—whatever way you looked you saw the horizon.¹²¹ (Fê Lemos 2005).

The outdoors area in the immediate vicinity of the blocos such as that in the

¹²¹ “Eu adorava aquele espaço. Desde criança eu aprendi a conviver com aquilo e a gente explorava o cerrado quando a gente era moleque. A própria história de ficar em baixo do bloco. A gente podia tocar em baixo do bloco. A gente fazia ensaios em baixo do bloco. O Monjolo tocava no gramado em frente ao prédio. Então acho que o espaço tenha dado mais noção de liberdade. A gente não tocava fechado, né – pra qualquer lugar que você olhava você via o horizonte.”

Colina brought youth into contact with one another. Music travels; its sonic element is a magnet for one's attention, whether the emotional response is positive, negative, or indifferent. A quadra, its design being that of an enclosure, provides one or more central spaces between blocos that focus the sight and reflect sound in such a way that activity is supremely public. Even when not in the open air as Fê described, the shape, size and arrangement of the blocos encouraged youth with similar musical tastes to meet. An unintended consequence of the height restriction of these buildings to six storeys plus the ground floor—reputedly to preserve the ability of a mother to call from a window to her child playing below—is demonstrated by this quote from Ana Rezende, part of the “Tchurma,”¹²² the group of friends and musicians associated with what is regarded as the first wave of Brasiliense rock. She had just moved back from Montreal.

When I moved to 106 South, I met Chris Brenner [ex-vocalist of Blitx 64], who lived in the same bloco as I did. Helena [Ana's sister] sent records and clothes from New York. Chris and I used to listen to these records really loud. . . .

[S]omeone who was passing beneath the bloco and heard the music came up, got to know Chris, told her about a party that was going to happen, and I went. I got to the party and Gutje [ex-drummer for Blitx 64 and Plebe Rude; and ex-husband to Helena] and Flávio [Lemos] were playing It was at the party that Chris and

¹²² A play on the word *turma*, used to mean something like social set.

I got to know the circle [i.e. the “Tchurma”] and from that point on we hung out with them”¹²³ (Marchetti: 17).

Interactions like these kicked off friendships that led to the forming of some of the city’s first and most influential bands. Almost mythological is this uniquely musico-spatial manner of meeting people. Stories from this period abound of walking by a bloco, hearing the Sex Pistols or other punk rock issuing from a window above, and then repeatedly yelling the name of the band until someone came to the window.¹²⁴

A noteworthy feature of people’s musical memories is that they are quite literally mapped out over the city. Time and again specific cartographic points such as quadras, bars, and schools are narratively invested as *lieux de mémoire*. Place as location becomes a most salient concept for the personal organizing of the city’s musical history. Cascão recalled:

In North Wing there was a bar called Adrenaline, which was Big Mark’s, [nicknamed] “Adrenaline”. You had Adega that was there in 102/103 [South], in the Cine São Francisco commercial center. You had Food’s, there in 111 [South] . . . there was Beirute and Arabesque, too, and Gilbertinho [South Lake], right?

There was Cafofo in 407 North. . . . Radicaos, which was in 6, 106 North. You

¹²³ “Quando me mudei para a 106 Sul, conheci a Chris Brenner, que morava no mesmo bloco que eu. A Helena mandava uns discos e umas roupas de Nova York. Eu e Chris escutávamos esses discos na maior altura. . . . [A]lguém que estava passando embaixo [sic] do bloco e escutou a música, subiu, conheceu a Chris, deu um toque de uma festa que ia rolar e fui. Cheguei na festa e estavam tocando Gutje e o Flávio . . . Foi nessa festa que eu e a Chris conhecemos o pessoal e a partir daí começamos a sair com eles.”

¹²⁴ The familiarity this acoustic proximity breeds was celebrated by Conceição Freitas in her daily chronicle “Crônica da Cidade” in *Correio Braziliense*: she compiled a list of “modes of being Brasiliense” submitted by readers, one of which was: “Waiting for your friend to yell from the *pilotis*, ‘Come do-o-o-o-o-wn!’” (Freitas 2004). [“Modos de ser brasiliense (II)” . . . “Esperar o amiguinho gritar do *pilotis* ‘desceeee’”].

had Rambô, which was there [pointing] in Gilbertinho, and you had Gilberto Salomão [South Lake].¹²⁵ (Cascão 2005).

Alessandra recalled that “pretty much there was 109 South. Before 109 there was 102. It was Cine Centro São Francisco of 102 South. Which today is a church”¹²⁶ (Godinho and Tavares 2005). One significant result of this type of musical mapping is that certain quadras became associated with the musical preferences of its youth. The youth of different quadras often learned about each other and imagined the city according to musical taste, e.g. 104 South was for progressive rock, the Colina more 70s rock. When punk fans in the Colina learned that there were kids in 303 South who liked punk, they would walk the eight km each way just to hear their tapes. Music became a motive for choosing where to be and where to go, even though tapes and records could be transported easily from one quadra to another. *Place* took on musical characteristics in listeners’ minds.

Fê reflected on why the Colina, though removed from the main areas of the city, may have become the meeting point it did:

The group from 408 North, when they met my brothers, starts listening to punk rock and coming to the Colina, the Colina for being isolated and at the same time

near 408. I don’t know—Renato [Russo] didn’t live in 8, but the Colina became a

¹²⁵ “... [F]icava na Asa norte um bar chamado Adrenalina, que era do Marcão, “Adrenalina”. Você tinha a Adega, que ficava ali na 102/103 centro comercial Cine São Francisco. Você tinha o Food’s, que ficava ali na 111 ... tinha o Beirute, também o Arabesque, você tinha o Gilbertinho, né? Você tinha o Cafofo, que ficava na 407 norte. ... Radicaos que ficava na 6, 106 norte. Você tinha o Rambô, que era aqui no Gilbertinho e você tinha o Gilberto Salomão.”

¹²⁶ “Geralmente tinha a 109 sul. Antes da 109, tinha a 102. Era o Cine Centro São Francisco, da 102 sul. Que hoje é uma igreja.”

meeting place. When AE [Aborto Elétrico] and Blitz 64 started, it was a protected place, within the university campus, so the police rarely came in there—keep in mind that we’re still under the military regime. It was a place where we smoked weed, it was so wide open. All of Brasília was open, but the Colina was even more open—just four buildings surrounded by *cerrado*. So wherever you went to smoke a joint, nobody bothered you, nor did you bother anybody else.¹²⁷ (Fê Lemos 2005).

(At another moment, he surmised that finances might have been a reason for Renato’s going to the Colina: “The city had its ups and downs . . . immense distances [between things]. You had to take a bus everywhere. Renato was the only one who could take a taxi, because no one else had money for one. Maybe this was the reason for his going to the Colina so much”¹²⁸ (2005). This reflection on transportation as motivating factor for where to gather recalls the declarations made in the last chapter about the restraints on leisure people felt in Brasília given the combination of great distances and poor transportation. These conditions resulted from a combination of the city’s newness

¹²⁷ “Mas o pessoal da 408 norte quando conhecem meus irmãos, ouvem punk rock e passam a ir na Colina. A Colina por ser isolada e por ser próxima da 408. E não sei, o Renato não morava na 8. Mas a Colina vira um ponto de encontro. Nesse começo do AE e do Blitz 64 era um lugar protegido, era dentro do campus universitário, então não entrava muita polícia, lembre-se que a gente tá no regime militar ainda. Era um lugar onde a gente fumava maconha, era aberto . . . Brasília toda é aberta mas a Colina era ainda mais aberta, que eram 4 prédios cercado de cerrado. Então qualquer lugar que você ia ali fumar um baseado não te incomodavam e você não incomodava ninguém.”

¹²⁸ “A cidade tinha seus altos e baixos . . . distâncias imensas, você precisava pegar ônibus. O Renato era o único que podia pegar táxi, porque ninguém tinha dinheiro para pagar táxi. Talvez esse fosse o motivo para que ele fosse tanto na Colina.”

and its urban plan, as Holanda's syntactical analysis of space reviewed in Chapter 2 made clear.)

The arrangement of the Pilot Plan into residential quadras and their adjacent, corresponding local commercial sectors (also called "commercial quadras") was motivated by Costa's idea that people should lead convenient lives in the modern city. Transformation of the street lies at the heart of the radically new organization of the Pilot Plan. Modernists conceived of the street as more than mere organizational element: it was, it seems, a metaphor for biological and informational systems, for man's organization of life. To improve man, they had to improve civilization; improving civilization required reinventing cities starting with their most elemental parts, of which the street was public life's most basic spatial element (the dwelling was that element for private life). Holston's analysis of Brasília reveals what he sees as Modernism's radical rupture in traditional spatial figurations. In traditional cities public and private domains are encoded by a "simple and legible architectural convention: solid = ground = private; void = figure = public" (1979: 129). These equations mean that solid masses, such as buildings, are private property and form the "perceptual ground" that contrasts with voids, such as streets and squares, public spaces which emerge as figures against the "anonymous ribbon of street façades." Of course, as he points out, not all buildings are private. A reversal occurs to signal a church or government institution or other public building: solid = figure = public; void = ground = private (133). A church is broken away from other buildings and set in a void, surrounded by a square, for example. The

perceptual ground is now the empty space out of which arises the monument “to city, nation, God, and private wealth In this way, the street code of figure-ground and solid-void conventions systematically relates civic architecture and the architecture of everyday life” (129).

Modernism breaks with this convention. “By asserting the primacy of open space, volumetric clarity, pure form, and geometric abstraction, modernism not only initiates a new vocabulary of form, more radically it inverts the entire mode of perceiving architecture” (133). Space = figure (never ground); void = ground (never figure) (134). Reversals are impossible, buildings are always sculptural, never background. Open space is the continuous perceptual ground. At the heart of this inversion is the elimination of the traditional street, with the “anonymous ribbon” of buildings forming a corridor. The street was associated with unsanitary dwellings, promiscuity of animals, humans, and vehicles, dampness, shadows and lack of light, the spread of disease, the free movement of filth, etc. Wide avenues, open spaces, speedways for vehicles only, tree-lined paths for pedestrians, and monumental buildings replace the pre-industrial, baroque city. The estrangement that results is profound, as the private-public discourse is inverted and reinscribed anew in stone, glass, and steel in a now entirely “public” city. Modernism’s conventions “impose a totality of perceptions in which identification of the public and the private cannot be made, and in which—in theory—a way of life based on such discriminations is therefore negated” (136).

Costa's original design called for commercial quadras to be accessible from the residential quadras without the need for a street—walking from one's bloco to the adjacent stores would require walking a short distance through green space. In practice, the commercial quadras have become bustling streets, albeit short ones. People do walk to their local stores, but they drive to ones in other quadras. What the proximity of residential quadras to the local commercial quadras (a hundred feet or so) means for music is that, whether live or mechanical, sound coming from bars or other establishments has to be controlled. Laws protecting silence (called colloquially the “Law of Silence”) treat music and noise as the same and restrict the location of nightclubs, their physical construction, hours of operation, and other specifics.¹²⁹ Samba bands, for example, have a difficult time finding places to rehearse. The City Park is one option. Playing outside at night, even during *Carnaval*, can be an issue: I played in a maracatu band that was forced to shut down at 11pm during 2000's *Carnaval*. Venues for live and mechanical music open and close with astonishing frequency, due to the Law of Silence and owners' apparent difficulty in obtaining the proper *alvará* (license). The “intervention” mentality, which motivates businesses to do things despite lacking official permission, seems to be quite pervasive: what has been the case more often than not is that if something is done for long enough, it becomes legal (this is seen in the “invasions”—the shanty towns illegally occupying land that in time become legal RAs). Government appears to be cracking down.

¹²⁹ The law (No. 1.065 of 06 May 1996) can be viewed in its entirety at http://www.brasilia.df.gov.br/005/00502001.asp?ttCD_CHAVE=5950

The much publicized case of the nightclub “Macadâmia,” located on the edge of Lake Paranoá directly opposite South Lake, brought to light the conflicts of interest resulting from the organization of land. Located in SCES (Sector for Sport Clubs South), a sector not intended to house night clubs, the establishment in question is upscale, serving, among others, the people living on the other side of the lake. It is in an area of leisure options recently developed, including a mall (“Pier 21” with two more upscale clubs, a cinema, and restaurants). Its musical entertainment is mainstream, and its hours of operation extend into early morning. Residents on the far side of the lake complained, apparently for more than a year, about the noise from the club. According to them, the Law of Silence was being broken, ignored, and ridiculed by the club’s owners. To the owners, it was within their rights, given their status as a club. The issue came down to the *alvará*, the license for specific operating rights; the club lacked the one(s) needed. As the legal process is very slow, the club owners were able to continue operation while the case was under review (by obtaining a *liminar*) for more than a year. In the end, they were granted the correct *alvará*, and promised to improve sound isolation. Others are not so fortunate: Cultura Lounge, located briefly in 409 South, was closed even before it had opened properly.

Rubens’ remarks about the opening of Gate’s, located in SCLS 403, a busy commercial quadra with multiple bars, restaurants and snack shops, indicate the delicate position vis-à-vis neighbors in which the owner of a live music venue in the Pilot Plan is put, due to the combination of physical proximity and the Law of Silence:

So I had to start with something on the lighter side, because of the neighborhood. If you start with live music and start with heavy rock and roll . . . [makes a face showing trouble]. So we opened with instrumental jazz, because it's great—it's acoustic, or just electric guitar—and it worked really well.¹³⁰ (Rubens 2005).

When I asked him about booking Os Raimundos to play, he responded:

The band was really good—[so] we'll do it. It wasn't a regular gig, every day . . . so if people complain, a week goes by, we book some jazz, and that's it—they've already forgotten about it. Now I'm having a problem with electronic music. Not that it's loud; the problem is the bass. It travels [pointing in the direction of the residential blocos adjacent], goes into the person's bed¹³¹ (Rubens 2005).

This particular design aspect of the Pilot Plan is a major contributor to the difficulty rock bands have in finding place to play. Let us now turn to the next of “rock's refrains.”

Rock's Refrains 5: “Não tem espaço” (“There's no space”)

It's one of things that up 'til today we still don't get—if Brasília is the Capital of Rock, why, in this misery here, is there no place to play rock, man, you know?

One thing we've taken up with all the governments that have come to power, but

¹³⁰ “Então, tinha que começar com alguma coisa mais leve, também por causa da vizinhança. Se começa com música ao vivo e começa com *rock and roll* pesado Então a gente abriu com jazz instrumental porque é ótimo – é acústico, só guitarra mesmo – e deu muito certo.”

¹³¹ “A banda era muito boa – vamos fazer. Não era uma temporada, todo dia . . . então o pessoal reclama, passa uma semana, a gente coloca o jazz e pronto -- já esqueceu. Agora tô tendo problema com música eletrônica. Não é que seja alta. O problema é o grave. Ele anda, vai lá na cama da pessoa

not one has managed to address, is that every part of the country has a specific culture, a folklore of its own. Brasília's folklore is rock—there's no way to escape it, man.¹³² (Sant'anna 2005a).

One way the socio-spatial homology plays out in the rock scene is in the paucity of places and opportunities to play. Another of the current local discourses, another of rock's local "refrains" is: *Não tem espaço*—"There's no space." What is typically meant is that place, in spatial and temporal senses, to play is lacking, though space in the media is an important figurative meaning. These are the senses on which my analysis focuses. After exploring this issue I shall discuss the reasons that underlie this lack. I shall also talk about some of its effects. More generally, space for rock in the industry and market and, beyond that, in the national musical imaginary is felt to be lacking, rarefied. Rockers' responses to this and other problems will be the subject of the following chapter.

The concept of *place to play* (*lugar para tocar*) and its fraternal twin *space to play* (*espaço para tocar*) are variations on one of the most valuable forms of capital in the rock scene. *Place/space to play* bring together both *physical space*, as in a venue, and *opportunity*, as in an appearance. In this sense physical space and opportunity are enharmonics, in that they are two manners of expression that have different functionality

(i.e. they emphasize different aspects of the issue) but in the final analysis signify the

¹³² "É até uns dos lances que a gente não entende até hoje por quê, se Brasília é a capital do rock, por que nessa miséria aqui não tem local pra tocar rock, né, cara? Isso que a gente sempre bateu com todos os governos que entraram e nunca nenhum conseguiu escutar isso, perceber que cada local no país tem uma cultura específica e tal, um folclore de cada região. O folclore de Brasília é o rock, não tem pra onde correr, cara."

same problematic.

For the sake of clarity and consistency, I shall use in the ensuing discussion the term *space* to mean physical space, and *place* when both *physical space* and *opportunity* are signified. Hence, “place to play” will mean both a location and the chance to perform (for “play” in this context is meant by musicians as the public performance of their music, not merely making music). In musicians’ narratives, however, “space” and “place” are used interchangeably.

To some degree all musicians feel the shortage of place to play, for, as discussed in Chapter 3, Brasília was simply not planned with much in the way of recreational spaces in mind. With the number of bands so high, competition for space within the Pilot Plan is strong, and opportunities rare. Musicians are poorly compensated as a result. Rockers feel this more than most, and those in the underground scene the most acutely of all. The perpetual search for place has led to creative spatial uses, such as the renting out of the auditorium of the Association of Orthodontistry of Brasília, going camping to play, or the punk band Plebe Rude’s legendary plugging into a generator and playing on top of a bus shelter. These inventive uses of existing non-music spaces create opportunities to play and increase, at least temporarily, the range of physical spaces available to bands. Therefore, they function to increase *place to play*.

The Pilot Plan was designed with a so-called “Entertainment Sector” (Setor de Diversões, or SD), where in theory music, theater, dance, and other kinds of performative culture would have their space. The SD comprises the national theater, the local radio

station Rádio Cultura (in the same building as the theater), a subterranean area that Fellipe CDC and others briefly transformed into the Buraco do Rock (the “Rock Hole”), and fraternal twin shopping malls located at the beginning of each Wing, on either side of the bus station. Of these, the one known as Conjunto Nacional, at the beginning of North Wing, just to the north of the bus station, has high-end shops. The other, the gallery known as “Conic,” located at the very beginning of South Wing, just to the south of the bus station, is a multilevel complex of snack shops, offices, retail, wholesale, churches, political party headquarters, union headquarters, a theater, a (defunct?) x-rated movie house, and a police precinct station. Erected in 1969, its dilapidated and labyrinthine corridors lined with tattoo dens, sex toy emporia, t-shirt shops, musical instrument and literature marts, skate shops, watch repairers, occultists, book stores, braiding and nail parlors, health food outlets, restaurants, and *barra pesada* (“rough” and “seedy,” approximately) bars wend towards a central, open air square. Once the site of embassies, now prostitutes perambulate alfresco among vendors peddling combs, lottery tickets, cell phone covers, socks, fresh cashew nuts, and mangoes.¹³³ On the platform leading to the lawns behind, *capoeiristas* congregate in *rodas* (impromptu circles) near small, smoking grills heaped with sundry meats on sticks. Rock and rap record stores rival drifting CD and DVD pirates, who ply the Pilot Plan’s bars, pizzerias, cafés, barbershops, and beauty salons. Laden with backpacks full of the latest releases, they accost you as you bite into your *pastel* or lie back in the barber’s chair, arms piled high with scores of discs like

¹³³ The Indian, Ivorian, Argentine, and Canadian embassies were installed there immediately following their move from Rio de Janeiro, according to the *Correio Braziliense* (8 August 2004).

waiters in Chicago's busiest downtown diner. The Conic is a genuine olla podrida—the poorly sighted and the oculist; the druggist, druggie, and drug dealer; the lost soul and the charismatic; the officer and the thief. The arrant variety, human and mineral, takes the breath away, brings on aboulia, desensitizes one to the silent *cri de cœur* of the countless miserable waifs and vagrants. In recent years a few designer stores have appeared, following in the wake of an effort to polish things up a bit.

It is also rock's headquarters in the Pilot Plan, perhaps in all of Brasília. Underground youth seem to feel a sense of hominess among the social *subterra* (literally, “underground”). Conic had, at last count, two spaces in which rockers could put on shows: the basement of the Dulcina Theater, and the headquarters of the Socialist Party (PSOL). These spaces, and in a more general sense Conic as a whole, are examples of *liminal spaces*. They are liminal in both a cartographic sense, in that they exist socially in a place apart from their surroundings, and in an instrumental sense, for they are utilized for activities quite different from their intended purposes (which they continue to fulfill). These spaces are located in the Pilot Plan, but frequented by people from the satellite cities. They tend to be proximal to the central bus station, the city's geographic nucleus. Buses arrive from and depart to all the satellite cities, making it a convenient gathering point for rockers regardless of where they live. Nonetheless, the high mass transit costs can make getting back and forth to these shows a challenge for a good part of the underground public.

Two other liminal spaces are Zoona Z, a mixed-use indoor space located in the

Sector for Garages, and the area around the Radio/TV tower. These spaces are positioned on the opposite side of the bus station from the monumental buildings of the federal government. In a modernist city, symbolism as an economy of power has heightened relevance. As Michelle Godinho and Alessandra Tavares said:

Michelle: “The farther from the center of power, the better they think it is. For example, there was this great place, the Gran Circo Lar, a place that had great shows. Brasília was on the circuit of bands that came from abroad to play. And they simply destroyed the place. Oh—the Show Bar . . . nope, no more Show Bar. The Rock Hole . . . nope, now it's the Universal Kingdom of God . . . you see? They keep closing [places] and pushing [us] out, because . . .”

Alessandra: “Pushing out the noise.”¹³⁴ (Godinho and Tavares 2005).

The struggle for space stimulated the creation of the short-lived ACBRock, or the Cultural Association of Rock of Brasília. Fellipe CDC discussed his struggle:

When I started Death Slam, no one gave us space to play, because we were worse than we are today, noisier than we are today, so no one gave us space. So I said, ‘OK, no one will give us space, then let's make our own,’ and we started to organize our own shows. And lots of times it happens even now, with Terror

¹³⁴ Michelle: “[Q]uanto mais longe do centro do poder, eles acham melhor. Por exemplo, tinha um lugar ótimo, que era o Gran Circo Lar, um lugar que tinha shows bons. Brasília ‘tava dentro do circuito das bandas que vinham de fora pra tocar no Brasil e tudo mais. E eles, simplesmente, destruíram o lugar. E todo lugar que tem, eles vão e parece que vai fechando mesmo o cerco. Ah, o Show Bar . . . não, não tem mais Show Bar. Buraco do Rock . . . não, agora é Universal do Reino de Deus . . . sabe? Eles vão fechando e distanciando, que é porque . . .”

Alessandra: “Afastando da paulada.”

Revolucionário, the same thing, no one gives us space—so off we go and make our own—what else can we do?¹³⁵ (Sant’anna 2005a).

Part of the project to “make space” for the underground scene included the founding of ACBRock. The association recuperated a subterranean corridor near the bus station that had become a haven for drug use and spontaneous sex, renamed it the Buraco do Rock, or the Rock Hole, built a stage, put on shows, produced fanzines, t-shirts, and other crafts, and put in motion social programs aimed at giving underprivileged and homeless youth something to do. It was an effort to finally give Brasília a “governing” space for rock: a place rockers could call their own, where they could feel welcome at any time, hear the music of their friends and other rock bands, and be guaranteed of having a place to put on their own shows. It would be a place also for other, extra-musical interests of the rock community.

The reason the association was born was precisely the lack of media space we suffered at that time—and still suffer today, even if less so—a lack of access to the very media through which to expose the work the bands were doing. We were always playing to the same people, and I always think it’s cool to break open the

¹³⁵ “Quando eu montei a banda Death Slam . . . ninguém dava espaço pra gente tocar, porque a gente era pior do que é hoje, mais barulhento do que é hoje, aí ninguém dava espaço pra gente. Então eu falei assim, ‘Ó, ninguém dá espaço, então vamos fazer nosso espaço,’ e aí começamos a fazer os nossos shows. E muitas vezes acontece até hoje, com o Terror Revolucionário, o mesmo esquema, ninguém dá espaço, vamos lá e vamos fazer nosso espaço, né, meu?”

circle, include more people in the struggle, you know? We put out a fanzine, and we published two issues of the paper ACBRock that talked about our activities.¹³⁶

UNESCO, however, alleged that this use was inconsistent with the original plan and the Rock Hole was closed.

When the association began to show signs of folding, precisely when we lost the space, it was the very moment when we were beginning to elaborate some of our ideas, like workshops for street children, etc. And it died in the very moment when it absolutely shouldn't have. It folded because we lost the space.¹³⁷

The space was taken over, as Michelle mentioned above, by the most powerful of the charismatic protestant churches. UNESCO's intervention testifies to place as resource, as capital cutting across different fields. It also illustrates the discrimination that both rock music and people from the satellite cities suffer, for though the church's use should qualify as inconsistent with the plan, it has gone forward.

Efforts at achieving a space especially for the rock community, such as the one run by the ACCRock (Cultural Association of Rock of Ceará, modeled on the ACBRock, its less successful predecessor), have included soliciting the help of political figures. In

¹³⁶ O fato de ter nascido a associação [ACBRock] foi exatamente pela falta de espaço que nós tínhamos à época – ainda temos hoje, só que menos – de acesso à própria mídia pra que se possa divulgar os trabalhos que as bandas estavam fazendo naquele momento ali. . . . A gente tava tocando sempre pras mesmas pessoas . . . e eu acho sempre interessante quebrar esse círculo, sempre interessante abranger mais pessoas nessa luta, né? . . . Lá a gente tinha fanzine, a gente chegou a editar duas publicações do jornal da ACBRock, falando das atividades . . . Faliu porque a gente perdeu o espaço.

¹³⁷ Aí, quando a associação começou a dar sinais assim de falência foi justamente quando a gente perdeu o espaço e foi numa época em que a gente tava começando a querer trabalhar alguns temas, workshop pra criança de rua, etc. E morreu num momento em que não podia morrer.

2005 an ultimately unsuccessful attempt at reclaiming the Rock Hole was launched, this time with help from a politician in the ruling Worker's Party. The goal was to pick up where things had been halted, to work with "the kids who don't have access to culture, to grab these kids, work on their heads so that they don't see as culture only what the official media offer"¹³⁸ (CDC 2005). In 2006, just ahead of state and federal elections, Ronan circulated by email the following political message, a "guerilla-style" campaign on behalf of the Popular Socialist Party (PPS) candidate for state representative, Lula Marques:

Gang, now we have the chance to change something in "our" Candango Rock. Capital of Rock??? What is that supposed to mean??? We don't have, neither have we ever had, a cultural space dedicated exclusively to all the styles of Rock. At this exact moment a guy called LULA MARQUES is already helping and fighting for us! Rock has a true godfather, for LULA MARQUES likes, believes in, protects [the scene] and, principally, works against the prejudice in Brasília! This is one of his principal proposals and, being in the State House of Representatives he will defend the building of the "ROCK HOUSE," the first Cathedral of Rock in the Country, with space for Shows, Parties, Theater, Cinema, Photography, Cartoons, and all the Under-Alternative Culture there is. One of his principal projects really is the proposal for the construction of the Cultural Space . . . have faith, it's this Sunday, think hard, vote differently, dare,

¹³⁸ de trabalhar assuntos sociais, de fazer workshop com a molecada, etc., a molecada que não tem acesso à cultura, de pegar esses meninos assim, trabalhar a cabeça deles pra que eles não enxerguem como cultura apenas o que a mídia oficial oferece.

we have nothing to lose!!! Don't vote for the same-old-same-old!!! So . . . don't forget . . . **LULA MARQUES (PPS) – 23123**.¹³⁹ (Ronan 2006).

(The fact that the name of the center would be in English is a curiosity that I cannot adequately dig into at this point, but want to mention. Rock's linguistic legacy is one obvious reason. But deeper is my observation that "English = The Universal" in some contexts; since the proposal is to create an inclusive space, one where rockers of all styles, as well as all members of the "under-alternative" cultural community, should feel welcome, a name that does not privilege or emphasize any aspect of any one branch, or "tribe," of the community is desirable. The native category of "tribe" will be discussed later in this chapter.) The desperation for *place to play* in the rock community is perceptible in Fellipe CDC and Ronan's words. An urgency, a seemingly defensive posture, and a pessimism are all evident in the latter's campaign message. We saw in Chapter 3 how the "twin towers" of reliance on the State as provider and cynicism about politicians' intentions make for a dicey relationship between rockers and elected officials. Add to this the "Vote Nulo" ("Vote Null") movement, a discourse that urges people to purposely void their vote (voting is obligatory in Brazil), argued for by at least some

¹³⁹ "Galera, agora temos a chance de mudar algo dentro do "nosso" Rock Candango. Capital do Rock??? Que termo é esse??? Não temos, nem nunca tivemos um espaço cultural destinado apenas às vertentes do Rock. Neste exato momento, um cara chamado LULA MARQUES já apoia [sic] e luta por nós! O Rock já tem um verdadeiro padrinho, pois, o LULA MARQUES gosta, acredita, protege [sic] e principalmente, atua contra o preconceito em Brasília! Essa é uma das principais propostas dele e estando na Câmara Distrital defenderá a construção da "ROCK HOUSE", a primeira Catedral do Rock do País, com espaço para Shows, Festas, Teatro, Cinema, Fotografia, Cartoons e toda a Cultura Under-Alternativa existente. Um dos principais projetos dele é realmente a proposta da construção do Espaço Cultural . . . podem crer, é domingo, pensem bem, votem diferente, ousem, não temos nada a perder!!!! Não votem na mesmice [sic]!!! Portanto . . . não se esqueçam . . . **LULA MARQUES (PPS) – 23123**".

rockers,¹⁴⁰ and the skepticism in the rock community that mainstream politics presents the solution to their needs becomes evident.

Fellipe's reference above to the media points to another of the impacts of the socio-spatial homology on music. 1) The media tend to focus on cultural events happening within the Pilot Plan, and 2) the satellite cities, in the main, get negative press. The underground scene, for being associated with the satellite cities, gets practically no media attention, compounding the struggle for physical space. So it resorts to the do-it-yourself approach: self-organized record labels, shows, festivals, and even non-music events, such as the how-to conference on fanzines. DIY symbolizes two aspects of the underground's value-system: *auto-gestão* (self-production) and *ser independente* ("to be independent"). The latter is perhaps the highest value of the underground scene—and though as a philosophy it is polysemic, it boils down to not capitulating, to resisting, to forging ahead in your personal struggle, whether it is fighting discrimination, wrenching resources from the system, or combating environmental degradation.

Frustration at media indifference and exclusion has produced bitterness and indignation in some rockers. The attitude Paulo Mattos expresses below may be interpreted as a hopeless, self-defeating approach, but it serves to validate and affirm the DIY philosophy. There is, however, in his comment an evident attribution of poor turnout to both media exclusion and a general public impassiveness towards the scene:

¹⁴⁰ Brasília's DFC, one of the most seeworthy of all hardcore groups anywhere in the country, incites listeners to do just that in their hymn "Vote Nulo."

[H]ardcore has no space in the media, none. It gets difficult to get people to your shows. It's become something for those who really like the music and make it out of a desire to express themselves without worrying about [financial] return. . . . We don't give a shit if people go to our shows or not. They have to swallow our message—we go against the media. Quebraqueixo has a ton of songs against the media. That's why we get no media space.¹⁴¹ (Mattos 2005).

The struggle for space has economic causes and consequences. One cause noted in Chapter 3 is the lack of government support. Other economic causes that could be categorized as related to market or industry include the following nested beliefs: that music from Brasília is, in general, not profitable; that rock music is among the least lucrative genres of music; and that within rock, underground styles are the least saleable of all. Brasília's renown as the "Capital of Rock" does not, it seems, translate into widespread appeal for rock music from the capital on either national or local levels. Legião Urbana and Os Raimundos continue to sell discs years after their careers ended, but the big names in rock today are, with the exception of Capital Inicial, not from Brasília (and even they are as much from São Paulo as Brasília, given their residence there since 1985). There are fewer rock icons in Brazil as a whole than those of MPB, samba, pagode, axé, and *música sertaneja*. As in other parts of the world, and within

¹⁴¹ "[H]ardcore não tem espaço na mídia, nenhum. Fica difícil da gente atrair público pros shows. Fica uma coisa bem assim de quem gosta mesmo e vai por querer se expressar mesmo sem muita preocupação com o retorno. . . . A gente tá cagando se vai gente no nosso show. Vão ter que engolir a nossa mensagem, a gente vai contra a mídia mesmo. A gente tem música, o Quebra-Queixo tem um monte de música contra a mídia. Por isso que a gente não tem espaço na mídia."

other musical genres, the most marketable and profitable bands are those that are more mainstream; the underground's only support tends to come from specialized labels. As Fellipe mentioned, the circle remains quite a closed one, with underground bands tending to play for a select, niche, relatively stable crowd.

Another cause is the lack of media attention, a circular situation for which DIY efforts like fanzines ("the backbone of the underground" in Fellipe's words) try to compensate. And as mentioned above, the underground's relative invisibility in the media is not without social history. Mainstream media's seemingly obsequious focus on mainstream cultural events and on happenings within the Pilot Plan reinforce a sanctioned oblivion to much of the cultural events beyond the North Wing, South Wing, North Lake, and South Lake. The series of inserts in the main broadsheet, the *Correio Braziliense*, in 2005 "introducing" each of the satellite cities to Pilot Plan readers was interesting, yet patronizing. Smiling faces and heart-warming histories of struggle and success made a momentary soap opera out of what could have been informative, educative exposés. Perhaps the fact that the paper is called *Correio Braziliense* ("Brasiliense Mail") and not *Correio do DF* ("Federal District Mail") means more than is generally thought: this newspaper represents the RA of Brasília and the other well-off RAs in its immediate vicinity, and not the whole of greater Brasília, i.e. the DF.

Yet another economic cause for the shortage of place to play is related to the city's urban plan: the original design is almost completely constructed. Real estate speculation in recent years, due in part to the imminent completion of the Pilot Plan, has

stimulated a steady increase in property value. Rents within the Pilot Plan have climbed, as have sale prices. A number of more expensive bars and venues have appeared over the last few years, catering to a wealthier public. Simpler, more traditional bars that maintain a loyal clientele, have dealt with increased costs in different ways. The owner of the Piauí bar, located in the commercial quadra SCLS 403 for example, has increased outdoor seating in the grassy area behind to attract more customers, while Rubens, the owner of the adjacent live music bar Gate's Pub, a small venue most nights filled to capacity, has raised drink prices to increase revenue. This local economic fluctuation has caused changes in the drinking habits of some of Gate's customers, who stop to drink at Piauí before going on to hear music at Gate's, exacerbating the problem for Rubens. Reduced revenue at Gate's has precipitated an increase in cover charges, while the bands' wages have frozen or fallen. With the increase in bar and cover charges, customers drink at Piauí and stand outside of Gate's Pub on the sidewalk, sit on the curb or on hoods of parked cars. The decrease in paying public for a band means decreased exposure and a further fall in revenue for Rubens, who has responded in part by minimizing musical risks. Cover bands, representing less risk, have been hired with more frequency, and non-cover bands struggle to compete. The cover scene has gained strength, affecting musicians' choices as to what they play. In addition, the city has seen a steady growth in a peculiar nocturnal "sidewalk culture" (more on this below).

In summary, the problem of *place to play* has several causes: one is characteristic of Costa's design—putting residential quadras adjacent to commercial ones, thus locating

residential blocos within the same sonic space as live music venues. Another is a byproduct of his urban plan, developed before amplified music became as prevalent as it is today—the lack of a sector especially designed for live music with its specific requirements has meant that, as an activity, it is not officially sanctioned; thus it is afforded no protection and accorded no importance in either urbanistic or in symbolic terms. A third cause is economic—rock is neither much supported by the government nor much valued by the private industry. When the issue of media attention is related to this problem of *place*, we see how these different causes are capable of combining into a noxious recipe for exclusion.

*Brasília's Urban Plan: A Tale of Two Scenes*¹⁴²

¹⁴² The two moieties of Brasília have roots in language. Three important terms when talking about Brasília are *pioneiros* ("pioneers"), *candangos* and *brasilienses*. To understand these terms more fully, we need to start with a fourth term, *bandeirante*: JK intended that the opening of the interior via the construction of Brasília would recall the spirit of exploration of the *bandeirantes*, the armed adventurers and bounty hunters who departed the settled areas of Brazil in the late 1600s in search of wealth, runaway slaves, and Indian women with whom to procreate. The pioneers who would build Brasília were labeled latter-day *bandeirantes*, giving the term a new meaning devoid of its original marauder connotations. Holston (1989: 209-10) shows how originally two categories of *bandeirantes* existed: *pioneiros* and *candangos*. *Pioneiros* were the first to settle the area, be they merchants, state officials, cultivators, engineers, professors, etc. *Candangos* were the manual-labor masses. The word is thought to be a mutation of the word *candango*, used by southwestern Bantu of Angola (Quimundo or Quilombo) to disparage the Portuguese colonizers. Once in Brazil it is used by enslaved workers on sugar cane plantations in the Northeast to deride first Portuguese and later Brazilian overseers. Brazilians adopt the term, which becomes *candango*, and it becomes synonymous with *cafuzo*, one of the categories of Brazilian miscegenation (the offspring of an African or Afro-Brazilian and a *mameluco*, the product of an Amerindian and a Lusitanian or white Brazilian). In time *candango* becomes a general referent for people not from the coast, but from the vast interior, the *sertão*, an area that carries pejorative connotations for many Brazilians until today. The *sertão* has suffered almost unrelenting drought for the length of popular memory, and the paucity of arable land, food and water have turned it into a reservoir of manual labor for the naturally more fortunate parts of the country, as its inhabitants (the *sertanejos*) depart in pursuit of a better life (which in this case might mean the difference between life and death).

The term underwent another metamorphosis upon arrival with these *candangos* in Brasília, who came to build the city. As part of both the populist, democratic rhetoric and the discourse of national unity, JK defined the individual who came to build the nation's new capital as both a hero and the common man. This combination is not a traditional pairing. But at the time of the construction, JK convinced the theretofore excluded masses that by participating in the birth of Brasília, they were in effect rebuilding their own lives. As they were recruited and began to arrive in buses, *pau-de-arara* open trucks, horse-drawn carts and even on foot down dry dirt roads, images of these new common heroes filled newsreels and newspapers. The cone of national attention focused on the polemical capital city thus turned to these men and women, members of an historically undifferentiated horde, imagined only as impoverished, illiterate and lazy. The *candango* became the "anonymous titan," the new *bandeirante*, and the "formidable hero" who stood at the fulcrum of a new era and would bear forth the "new Brazil." This resignification can only be properly understood when one takes into account how hierarchized Brazil is.

In time everyone who arrived in the early years became *candangos*, and the term became synonymous with *pioneiro*. In this way, the implicit class basis that had delimited the significance of *candango* was, temporarily, suspended. Engineers, entrepreneurs, politicians, doctors and skilled laborers lured from Rio de Janeiro and other cities by offers of doubled salaries and free housing joined ranks with the unskilled manual laborers who left behind homes and families. Eventually the word came to mean anyone who resided in Brasília, and as soon as a native population appeared, anyone born here. Likewise, it could describe things in Brasília, such as musical groups, film teams, or car companies. *Candango* continues in this usage today, although yet another metamorphosis has occurred, compromising to some degree, and for some people, its breadth. The word *brasiliense* means "of Brasília," whether referring to an inhabitant of the city, an organization or event, or one of a gradually increasing number of customs, rituals, or traditions seen as distinctly of this city. I have sensed through differential usage of these synonymous terms that the former has reincorporated a shade of a previous meaning, carrying a sense of "roots," of being "down-to-earth", and of being "of the folk." The latter, compromised by its semantic equivalence with "Brasília,"

In this second part I turn to the aspect of the constructed environment I've referred to as the urban plan and urban design and show how it is related to Brasília's musical universe. As we shall see, their relationship uncovers one of the most significant social facts of life in Brasília. The following look at the urban plan will deepen our understanding of the socio-spatial homology, as well as ways rock both reflects and responds to it.

As I pointed out in the introduction, I began researching the rock scene in the Pilot Plan, the part of the city where the bands that had achieved national recognition originated. It is also the part of the city most written about, primarily from the architectural and planning perspectives, given its special, quite amazing history. At some point I became aware that a different scene thrived in the satellite cities, especially Gama and Taguatinga. I realized if I were to limit my research to the Pilot Plan, I'd not only be missing a crucial aspect of the story, but I'd silently reproduce the social exclusion that afflicts satellite city residents. I would, in effect, write into my study, and therefore

suffers (or enjoys) its elitism. Thus, people from the Pilot Plan and the Lakes are more likely to identify themselves as *brasiliense* than someone on the other side of the social and geographic divide. As "Brasília" in its most reductive social usage circumscribes the elite areas *brasiliense* irrefragably inscribes only inhabitants of these areas. *Candango*, on the other hand, is more likely to be used as self-referent either by an older resident of Brasília, or by a resident of a satellite city. Interestingly, Candangolândia ("Candangoland") is the name of one of the innermost satellite cities, one where xenophobic skinheads have maintained their headquarters.

Candango, however pejorative the term may be to the elite of the city, has a richness of meaning that is central to the current project of identity construction that analogically parallels the physical construction of the city half a century ago. It is supplying a new city and a rootless population with a folk identity. In this current moment of "rescuing" the city's history (*resgatar a história*), which implies a reassessment of what makes Brasília unique, *candango* captures the value of and burgeoning pride in being from here. Nostalgia is perhaps part of what motivates its usage by older residents. After the optimism and radiance of the JK years ended with the thundering of tanks down the Monumental Axis in the coup of 1964) Brasília became associated with the seat of an increasingly repressive dictatorship and the "Years of Lead." Shame usurped the symbolic throne, and pride and promise knelt to an inferiority complex that stemmed from both political contagion and a lack of tradition or regional identity.

reinforce, the social segregation that undergirds Brasília. This section could not have been possible without the multi-local research that resulted from this epiphany; my eventual involvement as performing musician in this scene (and another, unrelated one, as a point of comparison) afforded me deeper insights into the issues addressed below.

Residents of the Pilot Plan typically do not go to the satellite cities; many may not even know how to get to Gama. Perceptions of violence, chaos, crime, pollution, congestion: these are the principle motivations for avoiding leaving the Pilot Plan. Jeferson, resident of Taguatinga, explained: “Because of the fact that the city has, let’s say, a violent record, lots of time the dude who lives in the Plan says: ‘My brother, I’m going to go there [i.e. Taguatinga] to get robbed?’ So it’s kind of a prejudice thing.”¹⁴³ (Ayres Cunha and Ayres Cunha 2005).

The satellite cities are thought of as having “lower class” music (especially popular Northeastern styles, like forró, or sertaneja), and the Pilot Plan “higher brow” styles (like jazz, blues, chorinho, bossa nova, and symphonic). The many types of rock are not easily mapped onto class, perhaps because of the city’s deep identification with rock and the style’s heterogeneity. But go to a bar like Gate’s, the premier rock bar in the Pilot Plan, and the rock bands you will see will typically be oriented stylistically toward the past and the mainstream. Indie rock, nostalgic rock, and a kind of regional rock that combines aspects of folk forms, will dominate. The crowd will be largely middle and upper middle class, lighter skinned to white, in conservatively casual attire with a full

¹⁴³ “[P]elo fato de ter um histórico violento, vamos dizer assim, muitas vezes o cara que mora no Plano diz: ‘Meu irmão eu vou pra lá pra ser roubado?’ Então, tipo assim, é meio que preconceituoso.”

spectrum of hues, few tattoos, very little piercing, short hair for the men, long for the women. The crowd also appears more passive, or more reserved in their appreciation of the band. If it's a cover band, the crowd will sing along. Dancing will likely be minimal, unless there is a DJ.

Go to a hardcore, punk, or metal show, in a satellite city venue, a parking lot, or other open space, in a hall, or in one of the liminal spaces, like Zoonaz, and you will likely note more darker skinned youth in the crowd.¹⁴⁴ They tend to wear black, studded clothing. Boots are popular. They sport more daring hairstyles and colors, tattoos, and piercing. The dancing is fierce, especially in the mosh pit. The dominant rhythmic figure will be *tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá*, and it is a call to bodies, drawing them into an ellipse, a marching counter-clockwise orbit around a maelstrom of limbs and torsos in full, gleeful career. Cross a Cajun waltz with a street riot and you get the picture of the pit, the “pogo,” as it is referred to locally. “Headbanging,” or *bater a cabeça*, is the forceful (as the name suggests) nodding of the head in time to the music, the chin down on the beats, the head up on the “ands.” It is a kind dancing in place, but not necessarily alone: several guys may line up, put their arms around the shoulders of the guys adjacent, and bang in unison. It is as universal a gesture in metal as the horn-symbol made with the fingers. These gestures and the “pogo” will be discussed in more detail in the vignette below called “A Crisis in Place.”

The dominant rhythmic figure of hardcore and much of Brasília's underground

¹⁴⁴ Galinsky observed in Recife the same correspondence between heavier or harder styles of rock, skin color, economic conditions, and where in the city the musicians and fans tend to live (2002: 96).

music in general, from punk to thrash, grind, crust, and styles of metal influenced by hardcore is, *tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá*, or a variation on this (the “blast beat”). The bass drum (“tu”) and snare and hi-hat (“pá”) alternate eighth notes at *molto presto* tempos. There are few fills if any—no time for “frills”—and songs, some lasting under a minute, may start and end without any change in rhythm or tempo. Jeferson and Jôsefer, the drummer-brothers, characterized the rhythm with these descriptors: “raw,” “direct,” “straight,” “rapid,” “an explosion of punches in the face” (Ayres Cunha and Ayres Cunha 2005). This rhythm represents a frontline: it is aggressive and, typifying *música pesada* (“heavy music”), is not heard in most venues. Bands playing hardcore or a style influenced by hardcore will not appear at shows (with the exception of large festivals) with bands playing styles unrelated, and this has to do with the achieved aggressiveness of the sound, much of which has to do with the rhythm. It is not a rhythm that DJs will play, unless the event were a special event. For a DJ to mix in hardcore with lighter, mainstream types of rock or other styles of music during a typical night of dance music is inconceivable, for the crowd would not tolerate the juxtaposition. Those who do not like hardcore would hear it as noise, perhaps as an assault.

Thus, the rhythm is contained within limited, prescribed areas. These are the few underground venues and the liminal spaces. The sonic borders that the rhythm traces, coincide with others demographic and geographic. A musical “redlining” as it were, to borrow from housing parlance, appears to exist. It makes audible the battleground of a placial struggle where real resources are at stake.

Tribos—“Tribes”

The socio-spatial homology reveals itself in the aesthetic phenomenon of the *tribo* or “tribe.” It is one of the most common terms used to talk about the rock scene and is of deep concern to many. It and the *panela fechada*, discussed next, are picturesque means by which we may become more familiar with the scene. They will aid in the apprehension of both the homology and the challenges facing rockers, especially those in the underground.

A tribo is a grouping of fans of a particular genre or subgenre of a musical style. The “darks,” the “colorfuls,” the “melodics,” the “punks,” the “indies,” the “metalheads,” the “trancers,” the “bikers,” the “hippies,” the “clubbers,” the “straight-edgers”¹⁴⁵—all have places they hang out, whether venues, malls, parks, or bars, and a differentiating visual style, whose elements are color, fabrics, clothing, jewelry, and body art. By most accounts, tribes are a recent phenomenon; there is disagreement, however, as to what at the heart is the cause. Some, like Alessandra, Michelle, and Fellipe CDC, believe the tendency to specialize one’s sound, to define one’s musical style more strictly, has resulted in a fracturing of the public. In the past, as Fellipe related, youth who liked rock went out to hear whatever was playing, regardless of the style (and this supports

statements made in Chapter 3 about youth’s willingness to take advantage of whatever

¹⁴⁵ Straight-edge, abbreviated SE, SxE, or sXe, is a movement that began in the USA in the early 1980s, with hardcore bands like DC-based Minor Threat. Straight-edgers eschew the use of alcohol and drugs and often tattoo themselves with an X on the back of their hand (derived from the practice of American bars’ so marking minors). The most common subgroup of SxE in Brazil is the vegan straight-edgers, who as the name suggest, maintain vegan lifestyles. The lyrics of vegan SxE bands often dwell on the issue of animal liberation.

was available). He sees the stylistic subdivisions within rock as having generated rifts within the rock public, and the current tendency for rock shows to not mix genres and styles reinforces the segmentation.

In the old days there was rock, and everyone went to rock shows. Now there are various “tendencies” in rock. This began to break up the rock public. There used to be shows of bands of various styles There used to be open-air shows with all kinds of rock that were packed, packed. All the shows in Brasília were packed. Now, with these subdivisions within rock, subdivisions within the public have been generated. This has somewhat weakened the shows in Brasília.¹⁴⁶ (Sant’anna 2005a).

Alessandra’s opinion concurs with Fellipe’s:

Hardcore, punk, and metal [i.e. their audiences] were more or less the same thing. I think that as there were few people in each movement, it was really united. For example, there was a show where BSB-H [thrashcore] opened and Detrito Federal [punk] and P.U.S. [thrash metal] played.¹⁴⁷ (Godinho and Tavares 2005).

There is the feeling that the unity was generalized, as Carmen Manfredini, Renato

Russo’s sister attests:

¹⁴⁶ “Antigamente se tinha rock, todo mundo ia pro show de rock. Agora você tem várias tendências do rock, assim. Isso foi começando a dividir o próprio público do rock, assim. Antigamente tinha show com bandas de vários estilos. . . . Antigamente você tinha show ao ar livre com todas as tendências do rock e era muito cheio, muito cheio. Todo show que tinha em Brasília era cheio. Agora, com essas subdivisões dentro do rock, acabou gerando uma subdivisão do público. Aí isso enfraqueceu um pouco os shows em Brasília.”

¹⁴⁷ “O hardcore e o punk e o metal eram mais ou menos a mesma coisa. Acho que, como tinha pouca gente de cada movimento, era bem unificado. Por exemplo, tinha um show, aí quem abria era o BSB-H, tocava o Detrito Federal e o P.U.S.”

[Plebe Rude's singer/guitarist] Philippe Seabra's mother was the "mayor" of North Lake at the time, so there was show after show . . . and what was cool about Brasília, what I liked, was that all "tendencies" mixed in a single show. Aborto Elétrico [punk rock] came on, blew up the place; then Blitz 64 [punk rock]; then other people, other groups . . . Renato Matos [folk/reggae] singing with an acoustic guitar; then came . . . Mel da Terra [folk rock]! On the same afternoon . . . there was the earthy thing, the hippie thing, together with punk rock, and there was respect, for no one booed anyone. I don't remember anything like that happening. These days there would be. These days [that mixing] is impossible.¹⁴⁸ (Manfredini and Manfredini 2005).

Tribes are quite a fact of the rock scene, such that shows, like radio stations, tend to cater to a public whose tastes are more narrowly defined. Michelle and Alessandra reflected on the tastes of the public who attend shows of their death metal band:

Michelle: Generally, people [who like our band] like heavy, black, death metal. And there are some who are more radical, only like death, listen only to that, grind, the rougher stuff.

Alessandra: Right, generally [they like] only death, at most black, thrash. Now, if we were to play a show, say, with Khallice [progressive metal], maybe it wouldn't

¹⁴⁸ "A mãe do Philippe Seabra era prefeita do Lago Norte na época, então tinha show atrás de show. . . . E o que era legal de Brasília, que eu gostava, é que todas as tendências se misturavam num só show. Então entrava Aborto Elétrico, arrebentava; entrava Blitz 64; aí vinha o pessoal, não sei, aí vinha outros grupos . . . aí vinha o Renato Matos cantando com violão; aí vinha . . . Mel da Terra! Na mesma tarde . . . tinha coisa telúrica, hippie, junto com o punk rock, e tinha respeito, pois ninguém vaiava ninguém. Eu, pelo que lembro, não me lembro de nada. Hoje em dia haveria. Hoje em dia é impossível

go over so well, get it? Or with a punk band, like at the festival in Gama, Battle of the Bands.

Michelle: There are some festivals where they put together bands of various styles, the larger festivals. There it happens. [But people's attitude is still] "I'm going to the festival to see such-and-such band. Like at the Porão do Rock."¹⁴⁹ (Godinho and Tavares 2005).

Tribes can also have a geographic element—you move with the people you live around. As noted in the previous section, the architecture and urban design often have a distancing, alienating effect, especially on people who do not live near each other. Most everyone sees transportation as being a factor: the cost, inconvenience, and distance work to isolate groups from one another. Tribes form as individuals gravitate to groups and environments where they feel "at home"—usually near their literal home. It is by no means automatic that geographic proximity will lead to individuals' musical tastes being similar, but as we saw above, *quadras* were associated with musical preference. Furthermore, it is a commonplace to talk of members of peer groups influencing one another; among youth, some one of the most profound influences are aesthetic in nature.

Juliano, who credits the shows Felliipe organizes—often pulling together hardcore, metal, and punk bands—with counteracting tribal fragmentation, sees that

¹⁴⁹ Michelle: "Geralmente, [são] as pessoas que gostam do estilo *heavy*, *black*, *death* metal. E tem uns mais radicais: gosta só de *death* metal e só escuta aquilo lá, *grind*, essas coisas mais pancadas."

Alessandra: "É, geralmente, de *death*, no máximo, *black*, *thrash*. Agora, já se a gente fosse tocar, digamos, com o Khallice, talvez não fosse dá muito certo, entendeu? Ou com uma banda punk, como teve um festival no Gama, o Duelo de Bandas."

Michelle: "Acontecem alguns festivais que eles colocam vários estilos, festivais maiores. Aí sim. 'Eu vou no festival pra ver tal banda.' Tipo o Porão do Rock."

beneath the musical differences lie similarities that could and should unite the underground: “The hardcore public are not that involved with the metal public, even though there are lots of things they could share. Share ideas and info, ways of putting on shows, experiences, revolutionary alliances”¹⁵⁰ (Lopes 2005). He identifies the need for *autonomy* in the act of segmentation:

Even within the hardcore scene there is a group that separates itself—the “straight-edgers” in one corner, those who aren’t “straight-edge” in the other, and such. It’s a good question—autonomy as a form of segmentation. Here within the underground, we break into groups, but when we go off into the “macro” we don’t.¹⁵¹ (Lopes 2005).

Autonomy is a concept that was not brought up in this way by anyone else, though it is clearly related to the value of “being independent.” Both “being independent” and autonomy are nuanced concepts, as Juliano rightly points out—context is crucial. The double identity boundary is present: to the outside the underground presents itself as unified, whereas within it is fractured. I see the rock scene in general acting in the same manner. I have heard phrases like: “it’s all rock,” and “if someone is dressed in black I know we have something in common.” But within rock, as Michelle and Alessandra

attested, the tendency is for tribos to support a single kind of rock. They become, then, an

¹⁵⁰ “O público Hard Core não se envolve muito com o público metaleiro. Sendo que existem muitas coisas para ser partilhado. Dividir informações, modos de realizar shows, experiências, alianças revolucionárias. Agora que tem começado a juntar os movimentos e tals. Fellipe tem realizado xous com bandas de diversos estilos, o que contribui para o fortalecimento da cena underground em geral.”

¹⁵¹ “Dentro mesmo do Hard Core [sic] tem uma galera que se segmenta, os *straight edge* num canto, quem não é SXE fica no outro e tals. Essa é uma questão muito boa, autonomia como forma de segmentação. Aqui dentro do underground a gente se segmenta, mas quando parte para o macro não o faz.”

aggravator of the musical “redlining,” to borrow from housing parlance, contributing to the “ghettoization” of musical styles.¹⁵² This process affects underground music more negatively, as it suffers more than mainstream rock from the prejudicial allotment of both media space and *place*.

Rock’s Refrains 6: “É uma panela fechada”—the “closed pot”

I close this chapter as it opened, with another of “rock’s refrains”: *é uma panela fechada*—“it’s a closed pot.” As the *tribo* is an aesthetic phenomenon of the socio-spatial homology, the *panela fechada* is an economic phenomenon.

The commonalities across tribes for which Juliano argued are not always enough to ensure cooperation. As Podrão, singer with Detrito Federal, expressed it, “Why is there no union? Because there’s a dispute between these groups, one that’s often dishonest, you know? [One with the aim of] knocking other bands down. There are cartels. I see lots of *panelinhas* these days”¹⁵³ (2005). As we shall now see, the fundamental concept of the *panela*, also called by its diminutive *panelinha*, is also related to autonomy and independence, as well as the issue of space discussed above.

The “closed pot” refers to a group of bands who play together repeatedly and are seen as “hogging” resources, such as opportunities and space to perform, recognition, and sometimes even financial return, be it money, free recording sessions, rehearsal

discounts, coupons for tattoos, etc. Seen from the point of view of someone on the

¹⁵² “Redlining” refers to the discriminatory demarcation of areas of a city with red lines where loans, especially mortgage loans, and services would be denied or more costly.

¹⁵³ “Por que não há uma união? Porque há uma disputa entre esses grupos, uma disputa até muitas vezes desonesta, sabe? De derrubar mesmo. De cartéis. Hoje eu vejo muitas *panelinhas*.”

outside, i.e. excluded, the “closed pot” is similar to a clique, or an “old boys network.” Competition between “pots” of bands is a cause of disgruntlement and division within the underground and within the rock scene in general. When asked about the major challenges facing bands in Brasília, Michelle’s response showed how the crisis of place discussed above is related to the issue of the *panela*:

Showing your work, because you have no place to show it. Sometimes there are fantastic bands, quality bands, and they can’t get into the *panela*. There are X number of bands, and only they play: they’re the bands of the producers’ friends, the music teachers’ bands When [the others] do get the chance to play, it’s a tiny show out in the sticks.¹⁵⁴ (Godinho and Tavares 2005).

Since place—space and opportunity—to play is a form of capital so limited, *panelas* are often seen primarily as an effort on the part of certain bands and individuals to preserve their access to this kind of capital. Musicians who feel excluded cite this as *the* fundamental problem facing bands. Implicit is the fact that this kind of capital, which we might call “capital of possibility,” is the primary way to gain financially or socially from music. Performing is the only way, other than the difficult, expensive, and time-consuming process of recording and selling, to reap the social, symbolic, and economic benefits of having a band.

¹⁵⁴“Desafio? Você mostrar seu trabalho, porque você não tem lugar pra mostrar. Às vezes tem ótimas bandas, bandas de qualidade, e elas não conseguem se introduzir na *panela*. Existem X bandas e só essas bandas tocam: são as bandas dos amigos dos produtores, as bandas dos professores de música As bandas, quando conseguem mostrar, é num show minúsculo, lá nos *cafiofôs*.”

The extended discussion below with Jeferson and Jôsefer took place on a weekend afternoon in the brothers' family home in Taguatinga, in the neighborhood "L North." We sat in what could be described as a miniature covered courtyard joining front parts of the house, such as living room, dining room, kitchen and garage, with rear and side areas, such as a bedroom, washing area, and additional bathroom. A foldable table, chairs, a bike, a refrigerator, and a disassembled drum kit were among the objects that, together with the three of us, occupied the space. We sat on plastic stools with half a case of beer stowed in a fridge within easy reach. The other half sat at our feet. Over our heads crisscrossed an off-duty clothesline, its slack parabola punctuated by colorful scores of idle plastic clips. The plastic roofing above clattered under the dense summer rain. The conversation began subdued; but the rain, beer, and polemical nature of aspects of the discussion enlivened our moods. Our animated voices summoned the boys' mother, who came in from the kitchen to watch, listen to the conversation, and add her thoughts on having drummer-sons, as well as the neighbors' opinions on the same subject (and her feelings *on their opinions*), then went back to cooking. The excerpted stretch of our chat reveals nuances in the concept of *panela*. They speak from both sides of the issue.

Jôsefer: *Panelinha* is like this: I play in Phrenesy, Jeferson in Terror, we're brothers, and then Jeferson has a friend who plays in Poena, so we go playing a bunch of shows together, just us, get it?

Jeferson [coming in on top, as if to clarify]: It's like this: because sometimes guys do shows and generally it's basically the same bands that play. But why [is this]?

Because you don't see guys from other bands at shows—the dudes just want to “appear,” play. In the scene as a whole you have to be present, you have to show your face, you have to do something for [your] band. Show up and communicate with folks. Lots of people complain that they aren't playing, but it's obvious—no one knows you exist. How are they going to invite you to do something, if they don't know you exist? Whoever's organizing [a show] only invites bands he knows, or he thinks is he's going to end up making money with [i.e. will draw a crowd]—

Jôsefer [interrupting]: To not get screwed over, you see? If Abhorrent and Khallice are playing there in the Plan, and one week, two weeks from now there's Abhorrent and Khallice in Taguatinga, then Abhorrent and Khallice in Gama, dude'll be like, “Fuck! That panelinha!” But that's not it! People have to try to understand that sometimes it's not a panelinha, see? Sometimes it's just the bands trying to get their sound out there together, see? Sometimes you feel good with another band, so, “come on, we're going to do a show together,” and everybody gets along. And there's no dough to hit the road, so “let's get out there here in Brasília the two of us, my band and your band, let's do tons of shows together!” See?

Jeferson: Sometimes a panela happens because the guy, the people organizing the show don't want to invite the other bands, or they prefer to invite just the ones they themselves like. . . . Or they don't talk anymore, they don't have that

frequent, direct contact [with the other bands]. So the other band that's not playing, that in general isn't playing much, that's not being invited all the time, takes it and says, "That there is a panelinha, only the panela plays, the only ones who play are those who know each and hang together." That's how the idea of the panela originates.

Jesse: Are you guys part of a panela, you think? Terror—

Jôsefer: [jumps in] No!

Jeferson: Terror, no! . . . Terror isn't part of any panela, so much so that—

Jôsefer: [simultaneously] Phrenesy played 15 shows [last year]—

Jeferson: [continuing] —anywhere they invited us to play—

Jôsefer: [on top] —so me and Jeferson, my brother, man, we could like arrange to play together, get it? But like, Phrenesy last year played three shows with Terror, one far apart from the other, see? One in August—

Jeferson: [breaks in] —dude invites us to play in Jardim Ingá, Terror's there—we're not so stuck up as to be picking places, you know what I mean? Let's suppose the band is from the [Pilot] Plan, let's say, just an example, and there's going to be a show in Ceilândia. So the guy organizing in Ceilândia goes and calls the band from the Plan, "Hey, there's going to be a show on such-and-such day, y'all into playing?" The dudes think . . . "Man, playing in Ceilândia . . . Ceilândia sucks, it's so frickin' far, no, let's not go." So they turn it down. With Terror it's different. Call from over there in Planaltina: "There's going to be a show in

Planaltina, y'all into playing?" [Affirmative response implied]. So dudes sometimes even think it's bad because we play in whatever place. [As if responding to the complaint] "Well, what—what do we have a band for? To play at home? To just play in the Plan?"

Jesse: [*beat*] More beer?¹⁵⁵ (Ayres Cunha and Ayres Cunha 2005).

¹⁵⁵ Josefer: "Panelinha é tipo assim, eu toco no Phrenesy Jeferson no Terror, então a gente é irmão, aí o Jeferson já tem um amigo que toca no Poena, então a gente vai fazendo um bocado de show junto, só a gente, sacou?"

Jeferson: "É tipo assim, porque às vezes os caras fazem os shows, aí geralmente toca basicamente as mesmas bandas, mas por que é que às vezes tocam as mesmas bandas? Porque você não vê os caras das outras bandas nos shows, os caras só querem aparecer pra tocar. A cena no todo, você tem que aparecer, você tem que dar a cara, você tem que fazer algo pela banda. Apareça para se comunicar com a galera. Muita gente reclama que não toca, mas é claro – ninguém sabe que você existe. Como é que vai te chamar pra fazer alguma coisa se não sabe que você existe? Quem tá organizando chama só banda ele conhece ou que acha que vai dar dinheiro no show."

Josefer: "Pra não entrar numa furada sacou? Se tiver Abhorrent e Khállice lá no Plano aí, daqui a uma semana duas semanas depois, tiver Abhorrent e Khállice em Taguatinga, aí Abhorrent e Khállice no Gama, nêgo: "Porra! Essa panelinha!" Mas não é. A gente tem que tentar entender, que às vezes nem é panelinha, sacou, às vezes é os caras que tão tentando divulgar um som junto. Sacou? Às vezes o pessoal se sente bem com essa outra banda, e 'vamos fazer um show junto', e eles se dão de bem . . . E não tem grana pra ir pra fora, então 'vamos divulgar aqui em Brasília nós dois juntos, a minha banda e a sua, então vamos fazer altos shows juntos,' sacou?"

Jeferson: "Às vezes rola de ser panela porque, o cara, o pessoal da organização não quer chamar as outras bandas, ou prefere só chamar aquelas bandas que ele gosta mesmo. . . . Ou elas não se falam mais, ou não têm aquele contato mesmo direto . . . Aí a outra banda que não toca, que geralmente não toca muito assim, que não é convidada direto, pega e fala, 'Aquilo lá é uma panelinha, só toca panela, só toca gente que conhece, que eles se conhecem ali e que vive com eles.' Aí e isto que se origina a idéia de panela."

Jesse: "Vocês fazem parte de uma panela, você acha? O Terror—

Josefer: Não!

Jeferson: O Terror, não! . . . O Terror não faz parte de panela nenhuma, tanto que—

Josefer: O Phrenesy fez 15 shows—

Jeferson: —em qualquer lugar que já chamaram a gente pra tocar—

Josefer: —aí eu e Jeferson irmão, véi, a gente podia tipo assim, combinar de tocar juntos saca? Mas tipo assim, o Phrenesy ano passado fez 3 shows com o Terror, um muito distante do outro sacou? um em agosto—

Jeferson: "—nêgo chama a gente pra ir tocar no Jardim Ingá . . . aí o Terror vai . . . não tem frescura de ficar escolhendo o local pra tocar, entendeu? . . . Vamos supor, a banda é do Plano, vamos dizer.. um exemplo, aí vai ter um show em Ceilândia. Aí o cara que tá organizando em Ceilândia, vai e chama a banda do Plano, 'Ô, vai ter o show tal dia e tal, vocês tão a fim de tocar?' Os cara pensam . . . 'Pô aí, tocar na Ceilândia . . . Ceilândia é o maior ruim, é longe pra caramba, não vamos não.' Aí não aceita . . . e com o Terror já é diferente. Liga lá de Planaltina: 'Vai ter um show em Planaltina, tá afim de tocar?' Aí nêgo às vezes acho ruim porque a gente toca em tudo quanto é lugar. 'Ah, mas . . . a gente tá com a banda pra quê? Pra tocar em casa? Pra tocar só no Plano?'"

The issues that the two brothers touch upon are many and complex. On the one hand they explain why people believe *panelas* form. On the other, they present the point of view of bands and show organizers. We see that the feeling of exclusion (the result of not having *place to play*) is provoked by the observation that other bands are playing with frequency; are playing together regularly with one or more other bands; are gaining notoriety¹⁵⁶; and are getting gigs in more desirable areas. We also see that financial and personal concerns may drive musicians to choose where, when, and with whom they play, and though these choices may not be motivated by the wish to form a *panela* and exclude others, this very perception may result. Jeferson and Jôsefer point out that organizers of shows frequently face similar challenges (a sensitivity to the other side that not all musicians demonstrate).

They make it clear that playing is a reward that one gets for being part of and supporting the scene—the health of the scene is dependent on one’s participation not just on stage, but in the audience, too. The dynamic of work and reward underscores the value playing has, increased by the scarcity of *place to play*. It has a value that in no way can be reduced to financial gain, as there is little to no money made by bands or producers in the rock underground (bands in the mainstream, those who may land gigs in the more prestigious bars in the Pilot Plan, may find financial reward for their work, but not always). The economy is of another kind: a symbolic and an emotional one; and though the hope persists that one day it turn into financial return, money is not the motive for

Jesse: “Mais cerveja?”

¹⁵⁶ Notoriety, or exposure, is potentially a form of capital. Bands almost always play for no money; the motivation is exposure, and producers exploit the value placed on this.

playing. The *panela* is seen as a means for controlling access to resources that are not immediately financial; playing more often than not costs money: gas, purchase of supplies, maintenance of equipment, rehearsals, self-publicity, recordings, missed work, and so forth.

The *panela*, it seems, is a question of unjustifiable exclusivity: decisions, which will always result in the exclusion of some bands, are justifiable if they are not perceived to be motivated by excessive selfishness, which is regarded as anti-social. Too off-topic to be teased out here is the highly nuanced nature of the acceptability of the extension of benefits based on personal relationships—when it is justifiable, and when it crosses the line into a transgression of the general social contract. Nepotism, much debated in Brazilian politics, is a practice that, from the perspective of those denied equal opportunity, effectively produces *panelas* (though I’ve never heard the term used in that context); from that of those choosing a person of confidence for a sensitive position (*cargo de confiança*), it is sensible policy. Jôsefer’s belief, that it is principally the older, more experienced and well-known musicians who form *panelas* and the younger ones who wait to be invited to play, is consistent with the idea that those with some kind of power, whether the field is politics or music, are the ones in the position to restrict access.

The importance of location is evident in the conversation on *panelas*. The socio-spatial homology is implicit in the scenario Jeferson creates, which illustrates how geographic and demographic distance are linked and have a deep impact on the rock scene. Bands may opt to not play in far away locales: Jardim Ingá lies in the Entorno;

Planaltina is on the other side of the Pilot Plan from Taguatinga, making it one of the farthest possible destinations for a band there; Ceilândia (like Planaltina), adjacent to Taguatinga, has the reputation for being dangerous. “Far away” is usually understood to mean the periphery, which as I have stated, equals “violence” and “poverty” in the heads of many, especially inhabitants of the Pilot Plan. “Far away” may also signal perceived class distance, underscoring the socio-spatial homology. Many bands turn down invitations to play outside of the Pilot Plan for reasons of symbolic benefit: it is more desirable to play in the Pilot Plan because the conditions—the venue’s equipment, transportation to and from the venue, financial returns (if any), and media coverage—tend to be better. On the other hand, the scene in the periphery is often more exciting for the bands, as the shows are perceived as being more lively. The satellite cities cling to a certain claim of authenticity of scene in the universe of the underground. This provides a measure of compensation for the above-mentioned detractions from playing outside the Pilot Plan, and an underground band that does not ever play in the periphery will be regarded as “fake,” or a group of “playboys” or “rich kids.”

Seen from within, from the point of view of those cooperating, or benefiting from inclusion in what is perceived to be a *panela*, it is not called a *panela*; in fact, local rock lingo has no name for it. When I asked people what it would be called, their facial expressions were of someone looking for glasses at the bottom of a pool. Two nice responses surfaced: Jeferson called it an *engate* (“hook-up” or a “hitch,” like that used to pull a trailer), while Jôsefer called it *auto-ajuda* (“self-help”). The former stresses the

connections a *panela* affords; the latter its solidarity or self-interest, depending on the scope of “self.” Both show that what is at stake is access.

Panela and *tribo* are native categories that are related to place in that they appear to have roots in the homogeneous socio-spatial organization of the city. When the Pilot Plan's *quadras* were designed, they accommodated functionaries of a single administrative entity. *Quadras* were designated for military personnel, the staff of the government bank, diplomats, university professors, etc. As housing and real estate have become free-market commodities, occupation-based homogeneity has diminished; however, it is still often the case that people who work together live near each other and recreate together in special clubs. As in agriculture, “monocultures” formed—for bank staff, the marines, or Brazilians of Japanese descent (clubs for each of these groups exist). The modernist, functionalist, scientific management approach to the urban plan, which, as discussed, mandated the sectorizing of the city according to use and purpose, was extended to the lives of its inhabitants as well.¹⁵⁷ Both *panela* and *tribo* are social formations that serve to limit access and belonging, and means of separation and segregation.

As Inaê da Silva's research shows, a common complaint of recent migrants to Brasília is exclusion from *panelinhas*. In some cases her informants referred specifically to *panelinhas* based on state or region: migrants from the state of Minas Gerais or from the Northeast would, for example, stick together and make difficult the friend-making

¹⁵⁷ Even after their deaths: the main cemetery of the Pilot Plan is divided the same way as the city – in *quadras*. There are separate sectors for different religions, effecting yet another type of homogeneity.

process for newcomers arriving without family. Da Silva, herself an immigrant to Brasília from Alagoas, a small state in the Northeast, revealed her frustrated efforts to become friends with her water polo teammates at the University of Brasília. They maintained a *panelinha* homogeneous in age, time of residence in Brasília, and economic class (perhaps also region of origin) that functioned as ascriptor of social and team status. For rockers, *panelas* are a method of restricting access to scarce resources, of limiting the group of collaborators and of assuring a certain comfort level in collaborations. These perceived *panelas*, maintained (as Jôsefer pointed out) more frequently by older musicians, appear to accrue social status to their members: the bands and musicians attain ever greater recognition as they appear in public. Da Silva also interprets *panelas* as a strategy for controlling social capital.

Rockers complain less of *tribos* than of *panelas*, since the former represent far less the exclusion from much needed resources, such as *place to play*. On the other hand they make difficult the dissemination of one's work. Furthermore, it may be that *panelas* follow "tribal" affiliations: the latter's role in the musical world is an aesthetic reconstruction of regional/state affiliations, which play so important a role in the formation of social *panelas*.

A socio-spatial homology exists in the parallel separation occurring in the rock scene, the city's layout, and where people live. In the first part of this chapter I presented and probed the discourse that the rock scene, in its early days, was influenced by the

physical environment of the city, particularly its architecture and the great space within and around the new city. This section focused on the Pilot Plan, for it was there that the city's planner and architects designed the blocos and quadras in a revolutionary way. It was also there that the rock scene that beginning in the early 1980s put Brasília on the country's musical map started.

In the second part of the chapter we saw how the segregation designed into the urban plan, between Pilot Plan and satellite cities, impacts the rock scene. This socio-spatial separation closely reflects a socio-musical one, in which the rhythm of hardcore makes audible the boundaries between the mainstream rock scene and the underground one. We also saw how this division makes access to resources, difficult for rockers in general, more nettlesome for underground musicians and residents of the satellite cities. The discourse "there's no space" was presented and *place to play* was analyzed as a challenge facing rockers that merges physical space and opportunity, as well as media representation. Finally, two visions of rock society appeared—tribos and panelas—the latter engendering the discourse "it's a closed pot." Each represented *shape* as *place* and *place* as a *shaper*: Brasília's constructed environment and the formative effects it has had on society.

Place as action—the underground's responses to exclusion—is the subject of Chapter 5.

Vignette 2

A Crisis in Place

The following ethnography of a show of four metal bands offers a “first-hand” account of the issue of *place to play*—the challenge of finding a space and creating an opportunity—discussed in the previous chapter. It also provides a concrete example of an event organized by Ronan, the outspoken producer who elaborated on the problems Brasília as place presents to bands and producers. It touches briefly on the subject of copyright. Furthermore, it offers a glimpse into the scene: from the fans waiting all night to get in and the discrimination rockers experience, to the dancing in the *roda de pogo* and the various aspects involved in preparing for and executing a performance. The text in italics are excerpted from scratch notes made on site and the fuller field notes written up later.

Promotion

The event, which went without a title other than the names of the two featured bands, Khallice and Thalion, was advertised as occurring on Friday, December 17th, 2004, in the gymnasium of the ASES Club, with doors opening at 7pm. Ronan was the show’s producer and organizer. He heads Mosh Productions, a company he began in the early 1980s to produce shows for P.U.S., the metal band he led back then, and to bring other bands to Brasília. Mosh Productions is one of the most active Brasília-based production companies in promoting small to mid-level rock, especially metal, shows.

Ronan also organizes periodic multi-day rock events that bring together ten or more bands, usually around half of which are cover bands. This particular show was to be a mid-sized show, in that it featured Khallice, currently the most successful of local metal bands, and Thalion, a metal band from São Paulo that was at the time beginning to make a name for itself in Brasília. Opening for the two headliners were two smaller local bands: Amadeus and a tribute to Swedish “neo-classical” rock guitarist Yngwie Malmsteen.

The only promotional material I saw for the event was a glossy, three-color flyer with images. Among flyers for rock shows in Brasília, this one gave the impression that the event would be quite well organized. In terms of professionalism, flyers for metal shows tend to fall between those for hardcore shows on the lower end (usually black and white photocopies on small pieces of regular paper) and those for mainstream rock shows and large festivals, which are often larger, multi-color, on superior stock, and with photographs and fancy computer-generated images. Ronan’s events typically have flyers that reflect significant investment. This flyer, 15.5 cm by 21.5 cm with black and white print on an orange background, listed across the top the logos of four businesses who “presented” the show—*Jovem Turismo*, a tourist agency; *Melodia Studio Guitar Shop*, an instrument retailer; *Condor Guitars*, a Brazilian manufacturer; and *Pedacinho Pizza & Chopp*, a local fast-food pizza chain. The names of the two principal bands were written in their own stylized scripts, “Khallice and Thalion,” with “in Brasília!!!” written in small, bold letters, referring to Thalion. Beneath this appeared a promo picture of Thalion, all five members dressed in black, with the single female in front, crouched

halfway down and beckoning to the person holding the flyer. As I held the flyer, I felt as if the others, standing behind her flashing menacing glares, were challenging me to reject (or accept?) her invitation. To the photo's left were listed the other two bands participating, Amadeus, in a simple outline typeface, and Tributo a Malmsteen, in an even simpler bold black typeface. Beneath the names of the two minor bands appeared advertisements for *GTR*, a guitar and voice school run by Marcelo Barbosa, guitarist of Khallice, and where Alirio Netto, Khallice's singer, teaches; *Lunettier*, an optical store located in a mall; and *Workshop Instituto de Bateria* with the note that the school is run by a duo including Maurício Barbosa, Khallice's then-drummer. The show's date, time, and location followed, with Ronan's contact info at the bottom. To the right of the essential information the prices are listed, with "limited advanced tickets" costing R\$10 and those at the door R\$15.¹⁵⁸ The four places listed where one could purchase tickets in advance were *Denial* (now called "Denail" to facilitate proper pronunciation in Portuguese), the metal and rock music and accessories store located in CONIC and run by Michelle Godinho (at that point Alessandra Tavares was still a partner); the above-mentioned *GTR*; *Porão 666*, a CD, accessories and jewelry store; and *Workshop*, the drum school mentioned above. The final two are sited in the satellite city of Taguatinga, which lies approximately 30 km outside of, and now has more inhabitants (c. 240,000) than, the Pilot Plan (c. 200,000).

On the back of the flyer were printed the logos of those businesses sponsoring the event: *Denial*; *Lochness Studio*; *Toque de Classe* music school; *Bateras Beat* percussion

¹⁵⁸ At the time R\$1 (one Brazilian real) was equal to approximately US\$0.35, though the cost of living made the real and the dollar effectively equivalent.

institute; *Steel Body Piercing Tattoo*; *Gringo Tattoo Tatuagens e Piercings*; *Porão 666* (“*Cd’s, Black, Death, Doom e Heavy Melódico, Cd’s, Camisetas [t-shirts] e Bijouterias [jewelry]*”); *Doctor Piercing e Tattoo*; *Alta Voltagem* tattoo shop; *Jerson Filho Tatuagem & Body Piercing*; *Fotólise Gráfica Editora Ltda.* graphics and lay-out; and *Amuletosound* t-shirts, accessories, tattoos and piercing parlor. Separated from these by a horizontal line, the entities offering their assistance followed: @briu Pro Rock rock store in Gama; *Kryptonita 91,3 FM*; *Cult 22* (a rock radio program); *aloja.com*; and *Eron Brasília Hotel*. The websites www.cult22.com, www.protons.com.br, and www.suaturma.com are also listed. The first is a radio show that has been in existence for fifteen years, playing rock on the local, government supported station Cultura FM. The second is a rock record label, on-line store, and magazine. The third is a portal for discussion groups related to music, with a strong metal presence.

As Ronan indicated in Chapter 4, the amount of money given in exchange for placement of a company’s logo on the flyer begins at R\$100. Given that this event would cost about R\$6000 to produce, about 40 percent of expenses would be covered if each sponsor paid the minimum. The cost of this show was not high, given that none of the bands commanded a fee. Thalion, being a new band, made the 1000 km journey from São Paulo not by plane, as a well known band would have, but by bus, albeit the most expensive kind (“leito”, i.e. having seats that recline to horizontal). I am not sure if Thalion was paid to play; knowing that Khallice was not, I am certain that the other bands were not either. They were most likely given something to drink. In the local musical economy, exposure is currency. Aside from Thalion’s travel costs, the main

expenses included rental of the space and sound system, hiring of technicians and security personnel, and creation of promotional materials.

The show was announced in the city's main newspaper, *Correio Braziliense*, on the day of the event. It was also promoted on several websites, including whiplash.net, www.skyhell.net, www.amadeus.pop.com.br, www.khallice.com.br, and www.thalion.com.br. Some of these are no longer active.

According to members of the band Khallice, they were contacted a month before the show about performing in the event. Guilherme (Guiminha), sound man for the event as well as sound technician and one-time singer/guitarist for Brasília's nationally famous rock band Os Raimundos, told me that Ronan approached him with the idea of producing a metal show, at which point the former communicated the news to Khallice. In his experience poor management, organization, and execution marred earlier Mosh Productions events. Khallice members were willing to take the risk, as they had not performed for some time. Their first disc had done quite well, their site was receiving a large number of hits (they were dubbed the "Prog Metal download champions" on the site Mp3.com), and they were in the process of recording their second CD. This show would afford them an important and timely promotional opportunity.

I arrived at the event with singer Alirio Netto. I assume each member was given flyers to distribute, having seen a fair number of them thrown on the floor of his car.

Arrival at the Space

Netto, the other members, and I arrived at 7 pm for their sound check, which had been scheduled for 6 pm. This meant that the doors would not open at 7 as printed on the flyer. I am sure no one expected the doors to open then, given that the typical delay is at least 90 minutes, with two hours not being uncommon. Yet, at 7 pm, 30 or so youth had lined up at the locked gate leading into the private parking lot in front of the gymnasium. Their line extended in the direction of the adjacent shopping mall Pier 21, hugging the outside wall of its cinema. They were standing and talking amongst themselves. They appeared to be aged 15 to 25 and were all dressed in black.



Photo 2: First fans to arrive, waiting in line to enter the Club grounds (off left). The building behind the line is the mall Pier 21. Photo taken at 7pm.

Having parked in the public lot outside the fence, I walked through the vehicle entrance gate to the front door, to the left of the line of fans. The fence that separated the private parking lot from the outside lot also demarcated economic areas: outside the fenced area vendors of beer, liquor, water, soft drinks, hot dogs, sandwiches, kebabs, and candy had already set their carts up, whereas not a single vendor was to be found within the fence. A member of the parking lot security team, dressed in orange, asked me to identify myself; I said I was there for the sound check. I continued unhindered.

Ronan chose this venue, the recreational facility of ASES, the Association of the Employees of SERPRO (the Federal Service of Data Processing), for its availability (though later in the evening that would prove to be in question), its size, its location, and its affordability. It would be far larger than necessary, able to accommodate some 3000 people, but Brasília has no mid-size venues for rock shows of this sort. It is located in the Sector for Sport Clubs South in the Pilot Plan, on a bus route, but not near any residential quadra. The space alone would cost R\$2000 for the event, far more than the rental for small underground venues, and twice the cost of the Dulcina Theater in CONIC, which, as Ronan pointed out, lacks a stage and a conveniently located bathroom. The ASES club was designed for other uses, and the association it served has nothing to do with rock music. I had never been to this place before, nor have I been since.

A set of double doors, placed to the right of the box office, served as entrance to the gymnasium and led into the interior space through a short vestibule. Once beyond this vestibule I found myself on the gym's second level. A dais led down to a balcony and small mezzanine-type area where one could place up to 12 chairs. This area offered a good vista. One could see the whole of the gymnasium: the stage to the right, the continuation of the balcony and the descending, concrete bleachers directly across, and the back of the hall to the right, including the balcony, as well as and the food and drink service area on the main floor. To the right of this mezzanine, an open stairway descended to the main floor; to the left a walkway wrapped around the back of the gym to the opposite side, giving access to the aforementioned bleachers. Beneath the mezzanine lay a twin set of bleachers.

The space inside the hall was like that of a rural warehouse or expo center, a smaller version of the kind of place where tobacco and farm animals are shown at state fairs. All was of concrete, where even silence seems to echo, and an arched aluminum roof shaped like a lengthwise section of a cylinder. On one end of the main floor a permanent proscenium stage was located, absolutely plain, without curtain or blacks. Approximately a meter high, the stage could be accessed by a nimble leap, by one of the short staircases on either side of the apron, or through a door house left that led to the wings. Selecting the latter, one could access the dressing room reserved for the two minor bands, exit the building through a single door directly ahead, or ascend a short flight to the right up to the stage. Off stage left, a short stairway ascended from stage level up to a small balcony outside the other dressing room, this one reserved for the two principal bands.

On the other end of the main floor from the stage lay a white, tiled area for the preparation and serving of food, separated from the main floor by a concrete counter to be used during the show as the bar. Without entering this area it was difficult to see its extent, as it was divided into a front, or service, area and a rear area, presumably for food preparation. It seemed that only the service area would be used, as the drinks and pre-made sandwiches that would be served were being stored up front. To the right of the “bar,” the two restrooms were located: first the men’s, then the women’s. To the right of the women’s lavatory, a side door opened onto a vestibule that led outside to the side yard with its covered *churrasco* (barbeque) area and to the rear parking lot.

The gymnasium's second level consisted of the bleacher seats, separated below from the floor by a low wall and accessed by two open staircases placed on either end of the floor, the balcony that wrapped around three sides, and the walkway near the main entrance through which I had come. Exactly opposite the main entrance I found, through a set of glass doors leading off of the balcony, a covered outdoor terrace that overlooked the grounds and rear parking lot. From above, one could see that the hall floor was concrete and had not been recently painted.

In the middle of the floor, facing the stage, a large soundboard was erected to monitor and manage the ambient sound, transmitted through loudspeakers stacked on either side of the stage. A board located off stage right controlled the microphones and monitors. On stage the drum set rested on a raised platform, flanked by loudspeakers. Two other stacks of speakers were placed down left and right.

The walls' only decorations were two banners, one for Estúdio Lochness, the other for Melodia Studio.

Interlude 1

7:17 Bands setting up equipment, starting with drum kit for sound check. Almost everyone on stage is dressed in black, many with long hair. Guiminha adjusting sound board.

At this point some 25 people were in the gym, all engaged in some kind of preparatory work. I walked over to the kitchen to investigate the food and drink operation. The following drinks were being served: Water (R\$2), whisky, beer, soft

drinks, and “natural sandwiches,” which means some kind of meat or cheese, accompanied by lettuce, on white bread with the crusts cut off. The woman in charge informed me that she and her husband ran the business and that they were contracted by Ronan. Her husband was not present, as he would be working at a rave later in the night.

At 7:20 I was approached by a large block of a man in a black suit who presented himself as a member of the security for Pier 21, the adjacent mall. In Brasília, and I suspect in all of Brazil, all security men look like him—much taller, wider, deeper, and heavier than average and dressed in a black suit. He wanted to know if I was part of the event’s organization. I informed him that I was there with one of the bands, at which point he proceeded to share his concern with me over the youth in black draped along the outside wall of his mall. They were blocking an emergency exit, he said. He looked at me uncomfortably for a second, then assumed a challenging posture and said, “I’m not saying it’s everybody, but some of them might cause trouble, you agree? Some of them could scratch cars, you agree with me?” I accepted this as a possibility, even if remote, and nodded my head distantly. I realized he was sharing with me a prejudice that I had heard from others and sensed indirectly long before I began research on rock music in Brasília: Rockers cause trouble; rock music is violent music. This kind of rock—heavy metal—would be seen as a far worse kind than others, what with its extreme loudness, heavy guitars, double bass drum pedals, high wailing vocals, gothic-inspired imagery—and a fan base of overwhelmingly black-clad, steel-studded teens, often pierced and tattooed. I agreed to talk to the line, figuring that if I intervened, I could do it in a way

that would be sensitive to both the self-esteem of the teens and to his fears, even if founded on prejudice.

Prejudice against heavy metal was recently given national exposure by the television and print journalist Arnaldo Jabor. On the December 9, 2004, prime-time edition of *Jornal Nacional*, the main news program of Rede Globo (Latin America's largest media group), Jabor seemed to blame heavy metal for the shooting of the American "Dimebag" Darrell, guitarist of Damageplan and the defunct Pantera, and three others in the audience by a lone man during a show in a club in Columbus, Ohio. With the phrases "Heavy metal and punk glorify noise and hatred," "Rock shows become black masses that recall fascist rallies," "It's terrible music, without direction and without ideals," and "Culture and art have vanished, leaving behind only fighting," he gave expression to strong feelings that are surely not his alone.¹⁵⁹ They seem to come from an outsider's investing of certain of the music event's signs with erroneous meaning. At the same time, his reaction against the violence of the shooting is quite understandable.

Skyhell Webzine, a now-defunct portal for metal culture in Brazil, had organized a

¹⁵⁹ "O rock começou como canto à alegria e à liberdade, música de esperança numa era de utopias e flores. Aos poucos, a ilusão foi passando. Em 68, a esperança jovem foi sendo detida pela reação da carecece mundial. Os ídolos começaram a morrer: Janis Joplin, Jimmy [sic] Hendrix sumiram juntos. Na década de 70, o que era novo e belo se transforma nos embalos de sábado à noite e começa o tempo da brilhantina. Junto com a carecece dos Beegees [sic], o que era liberdade cai na violência. Em Altamont, no show dos Stones, a morte aparece. Charles Manson é o hippie assassino e o *heavy metal* o *punk* vão glorificar o barulho e o ódio.

Com a pressão do mercado mais sólida e invencível, a falsa violência comercial, sem meta, nem ideologia, fica mais louca e ridícula. Os shows de rock viram missas negras que lembram comícios fascistas. É música péssima, sem rumo e sem ideal. A revolta se dissolve e só fica o ódio e o ritual vazio. Hoje, chegamos a isso, a essas mortes gratuitas. A cultura e a arte foram embora e só ficou a porrada."

national demonstration to confront this prejudice against metal.¹⁶⁰ Prejudice and discrimination will be discussed a length in Chapter 5.

Before the security employee and I had moved from our place, a member of parking security, having spotted us talking from afar, came directly to me to say that people were not permitted to park inside the fence in front of the gym, as that was a zone for unloading only. People should park behind the gym, he informed me. His eyes told me I should pass this on to “my people.” I said I would say something to others, although I had no way of knowing whose cars were errantly parked. I intuited, however, that the drivers were not to be found among the horde of “vandals” demurely filed along the mall wall. Most of them would have come by bus, been dropped off by parents, or in car-pools, in which case they would not have been allowed to enter the restricted parking area. Once outside, I explained to the queue of youth in my best big-brother voice that if they snaked the line around the front of the fence, the mall’s emergency exit would be unobstructed, important in the unlikely event of an emergency. They cooperated, sluggishly, furling the tail of the line around so that it terminated in the public parking lot—an arrangement both security men declared unacceptable. Feeling like a traffic cop trying to do the job of a train signalman, I gesticulated for the line to hug the fence. More lassitude from the line and further protests from the security—this formation would block the cars entering and exiting the unloading lot. Without further word, I wheeled around on my heel and went back inside, where I encountered Netto. I related to him all that had

¹⁶⁰ <http://www.skyhell.net/site/f.php?id=8467&d=1> was the active link discussing the demonstration.

transpired. He retorted, in an English laden with emphasis, “*Fuck them. They are just trying to cause problems. It’s not your job.*”

The Audience

During the moving of the line and throughout the night I observed the audience both inside and outside the venue. There seemed to be almost as many females as males, with the ages perhaps as low as 10 and reaching up into the 70s (a pair of grandparents had come up from Rio de Janeiro to see their grandson play in the band Tributo a Malmsteen). The range most represented appeared to be 15-20. Most were wearing black, as I have mentioned, generally a t-shirt and jeans or cargo pants. The black band t-shirt is *de rigueur* at rock shows. Bands typically appearing on t-shirts include: Iron Maiden, Metallica, Slipknot, Dream Theater, Evanescence, Kreator, Nightwish, Nirvana/Kurt Cobain, Motörhead, Evergrey, System of a Down, Led Zeppelin, the Ramones, Rhapsody, Cannibal Corpse, AC/DC, Pantera, Pink Floyd, Rush, Behemoth, Korn, Guns ‘n’ Roses, Grave Digger, Sepultura, Korzus, Krisiun, Angra, and Massacration. The last five are Brazilian bands; several bands local to Brasília appear on shirts, most notably Khallice, ARD, and Os Móveis Coloniais de Acaju. Along with band shirts, one also sees shirts with the names and logotypes of instrument makers, such as Condor and Fender, local music schools, such as GTR and Mr. Groover, and movies like *Psycho*.

Sneakers and boots were the most common footwear. Some women wore sleeveless dresses (black) and shoes with a heel (black). Belts, wristbands, earrings, and necklaces were fairly common, often with steel accoutrement. Few people sported hats of

any kind. Hair was often long. The straight, long, black, finely combed style seemed to be desirable. People were relaxed, excited, and friendly with one another, congregating in pairs and groups. Evidently they expected to see familiar faces.

According to Fabio, a photographer shooting the opening band Amadeus, the metal scene has been picking up strength in Brasília, perhaps throughout Brazil, due to the “unity” of the crowd. By that he meant that people go out to shows, support the bands, and stick together rather than split according to subgenres. This splitting according to subgenres, or tribos, worries many musicians, as we saw above, as it negatively affects attendance at shows. The predominating view of the 1980s, when rock music in Brasília established itself as the city’s main music—due in great measure to the national success of a handful of local bands, including Legião Urbana, Detrito Federal, Capital Inicial and Plebe Rude—is that rock was regarded as a single kind of music, and people who liked rock went to hear bands from all different “wings,” be they punk, hard, psychedelic, etc. Others, including Alex Podrão of Detrito Federal, have opined that tribes appeared together with the birth of a rock-based economy. These days a plethora of tribes fractures what some would like to be a single rock audience, and fans often declare allegiances to specific kinds of rock, simultaneously rejecting others. Fabio was one of the few people I ever heard suggesting that the trend of fragmentation was reversing.

Interlude 2:

7:45 pm—First “live” sounds in sound check. Bands mingling. Diogo [singer Alirio Netto’s cousin and guitarist Marcelo Barbosa’s student] tuning Marcelo’s guitars. Drum

issues—who's going to do their check when and on what kit, how long it'll take; Thalion drummer complaining that the quality of the drums is lower than what was promised. The delay is getting some people riled. The order of who is going to play is being argued about. Khallice is the senior band, but Thalion has come from out of town. The other two bands want to play at a time when there are people present, so as to get some exposure.

8 pm—Parking security telling people to move their cars. Aline, Ronan's early-20s assistant, is telling people that if they are not with one of the bands they have to leave the hall and go back outside, and that if they are, they have to get stamped. Lights are being checked—white and color spots on vertical racks on either side of the stage. Smoke machine checked. Khallice decides to do sound check first. Firemen checking and refolding hose.

8:13 pm—Energy problems. Current doesn't seem to be strong enough for Khallice's needs. The keyboard seems to be the big drain. The noise level: high! Everyone on stage is making noise with their instruments—you have to have a high tolerance for noise that isn't yours!

8:20 pm—First instructions from the main soundboard: Bass drum, then snare.

8:30 pm—Netto's mic checked. Aline stamps me after a little persuasion.

8:35 pm—Talking to photographer Fabio. Khallice doing sound check together.

8:55 pm—Khallice sound check finished. Thalion next. Outside again: People are now inside the fence, waiting in the unloading parking lot for the gym's doors to open. I see a curious thing: A middle aged woman in high heels and a rose-colored dress cut like a dancer's, blonde hair done up, standing away from the line. She goes up to someone

whom I think is a youth here for the show, standing near the box office, and asks him something.



Photo 3: The crowd waiting outside the gym, inside the inner parking lot. The doors to the gym are off left. Pier 21 can be seen in the background. The girl walking to the right is Aline. Photo taken at 8:50.

The Box Office

A bespectacled blonde not more than 25 years old with enlarged eyes staffed the box office. She sat in an off-white rectangle, a counter before her, and the closed door to the gym interior behind her. A single, naked, curlicue ceiling bulb—the harsh, white, low wattage bulb that since the 2001 energy crisis has all but obsoleted the softer, common

incandescent bulb—illuminated stacks of tickets, a stamp and pad, a shoe-like box for money, a pen, papers, a purse, a lighter, a soda can, and other scattered objects. Protected from the outside by a glass window with a single round hole for the passage of money and tickets and the essential verbal exchange, she did not look up when I neared her. *She has not seen me talking to people*, I thought, and with the darkness falling behind me, I felt almost incognito.

“How much is a ticket?” I asked.

“15 reals,” she answered.

“For men and women?”

“Yes.”

“Do you have courtesy tickets?”

“Yes.”

“Who gets them?” I wanted to know.

“Musicians, invited guests.”

I paused, looking at a stack of tickets stamped *cortesia*. “How many have you given out so far?”

“I don’t know.”

“You’re not keeping count,” I said, an ellipsis in my voice.

“Not until later,” she replied, still not engaged in the conversation. Aline came in through the door, the girl turned to her and they traded oral notes on a subject I could not capture.

“Do you know how many tickets you’ve sold so far?” I asked, returning to my questions, which with the harsh light and her curt replies was beginning to feel like an interrogation.

“No.”

I stepped aside as a girl approached the window to purchase a ticket. She appeared to be in her early twenties, dressed like the rest in black, dark hair cascading over pale shoulders. Words, bills, and a ticket crossed through the hole, each girl arranged her belongings, and the transaction ended. I returned to the hole.

“How does the crowd seem tonight?” I did not know if this would lead to a subjective or objective reply.

“What do you mean?” she asked, looking at me dully, eyes distended by her bottle-thick lenses. It was not interest that prompted the question, but a passive challenge to continue the conversation.

I clarified myself. “Well, is it large? Do you think there are a lot of people, or not that many?”

“Medium.”

“Is this your job?” I asked neutrally with the vague hope that a personal turn might elicit enthusiasm and better data. “Do you do this at other shows?”

“No. I’m Ronan’s girlfriend. I’m just helping out.”

Later, when the show’s fate was endangered and with her boyfriend engaged in a heated argument, I saw this girl huddled close to Aline, weeping lugubriously over the

possibility that this show, *which meant so much*, might now be cancelled, and how she, turning searchingly left and right in a display of exasperation, *just couldn't take it*.

Interlude 3:

9 pm—The order of the bands, which was to be Amadeus, Tributo a Malmsteen, Khallice and then Thalion, is up for grabs. Because of the delay—already 2 hours and Thalion still has not done their sound check—the main bands are wanting to play earlier. Thalion wants to play first. Khallice would probably follow. Amadeus and Tributo are not too pleased about this, because this means that by the time they get on stage the crowd will have diminished significantly. On the other hand, Khallice's members are the senior musicians in age and prestige, giving them certain rights. Age means . . . they don't like to stay up so late.

9:10 pm—The ECAD official is requesting a member of each band sign off on the set lists.

Conversation with Robert, ECAD official

Upon seeing Netto sign off on Khallice's set list, I asked the man, who later introduced himself as Robert from ECAD, the body in charge of collecting and distributing royalties, why people were signing the paper. This led to a 30-minute conversation in which he explained *direitos autorais*, or the composer's rights. He told me about the percentages of gross proceeds that go to ECAD and to the musicians, in what situations one need not pay, difficulties in enforcing the law, and other subjects.

After about 30 minutes I began to feel it might be good to part ways, so that I not be too associated with a figure as problematic as he. (In my experience as the organizer of a dance party, the ECAD figure was regarded with suspicion, an impression confirmed by Guiminha's rolling of his eyes when I later told him of our conversation.) In short, Robert told me that bands have to sign off on their set lists (*roteiros do show*) to be guaranteed the protection of their rights. The form signed has the set list in full with columns for each song's title and author. Alternatively, said Robert, bands can waive their rights. What I could not understand from him was if a band plays their own music, are they paid for those performances by ECAD? (The answer, I learned later, is, in theory, yes.)

Interlude 4:

9:35 pm—While counting the people in line (I guess 250-300), I hear an “Oi” repeatedly, which I ignore. Then, “Moicano!” [“Mohawk”/“Mohican”], which makes me turn. A teenager is seated on the ground between two parked cars. He looks up at me, stands up, and says “Tu não tem tchoso pra passar?” I say I don’t know what that is. He says, “Marijuana.” I say no, and he walks off in the direction of the line. Later I ask my girlfriend about that word, and she laughs and says, “That is so adolescent!” She says she doesn’t know its origins. When I ask her how the word is written, she replies, “You don’t write it.”

10 pm—Thalion sound check. I buy a Guaraná from a vendor outside for R\$2. Two guys in their mid 20s, Nelson and Jailson, want to bring metal bands from the States and elsewhere to Brazil. They live in Guará II. They see a project like that as a fun way to

make some money. Jailson seems to have been involved in Behemoth's recent tour. He wants me to find some bands for him, be a kind of liaison, translator . . . make some good money and have fun, he suggests.

10:10 pm—People climbing the scaffolding, trees and each other to peer in the windows. The delay has reached the point where people know something out of the ordinary is going on. The members of a band have come together to the show. They are waiting off to the side, out of the line, discussing their music.

10:15 pm—Thalion finished sound check.

The Crisis

At about 10:20 I noticed a man in a blue shirt and black slacks walking back and forth in the gymnasium hotly, gesticulating to I was not sure whom, with an agitated, desperate expression on his face. I saw Ronan try to head him off, but the man in blue waved him away and made strongly for the door by the bathrooms to the outside. Ronan went after him, almost running. I followed them both. I asked the rear-door security guard what was going on, and he informed me that there was a problem with who rented the space—it had apparently been rented twice—and that the Peruvian was trying to put a stop to the show.

Outside I encountered Ronan's girlfriend and Aline and a handful of others I did not recognize. Beyond them several members of the Polícia Militar, heavily armed and protected with what looked like flak jackets, were either looking on or actively engaged in the ardent conversation between the man in blue (Eduardo, the Peruvian) and Ronan. I

was able to make out words, but not entire sentences. I asked Aline what was going on, and she told me that the man in blue was the owner of the Caribenho (a night club of decent repute) and was claiming to have a permanent rental agreement that gave him the gymnasium every Friday night. Ronan was disputing the possibility of the permanence of such an agreement, claiming that he had rented it, had paid, and was entitled to put his show on.

Eduardo had the airs and coloring of a peacock. Ronan resembled a quill-less porcupine. From time to time Eduardo strutted off and Ronan pursued him, pleadingly. Through my eyes it seemed that Eduardo was making a scene and that Ronan was acting the part of the conciliator, obsequious in his efforts to defuse Eduardo, to dissipate his exaggerated indignation. Eduardo held a trophy that Ronan did not: a beautiful woman, as elegantly dressed as he, in a complementary blue, poised and proper, at his side. Ronan and his girlfriend, though matching in their quotidian, black-dominated outfits, were a sight altogether different: while he sought with a seeping desperation to win the sympathies of the police and a reprieve from Eduardo (it seemed as though the latter had the upper hand), his girlfriend, as unkempt and artless as her corival was primped and correct, dissembled a watery, breathy despair. Aline's wry smile and affected attempts at calming her companion betrayed the theatrics; only Ronan's reaction on seeing her come undone lent a whiff of substance to her scene, as he begged her to not worry, to not upset the baby (she was ten weeks pregnant), assuring her that everything would be all right. He entreated her to go back inside; she did not demur.

While Ronan made what seemed like absurd offers to win the right to go on with the show, such as surrendering half of all profits from the box office to Eduardo, the latter continued to dismiss him. With the speed of a cattle auctioneer and an accent that seemed to make vowels of consonants, Eduardo explained that he had a standing salsa event every Friday, that his dancers were waiting outside, that he had to set up the buffet, and that he would not budge. His histrionics were astounding. Ronan countered that he had signed a contract, that he had paid for the space, and that he could not disappoint the thousand people waiting in line who, if denied their show, would rise up and riot. What he lacked in Eduardo's haughtiness, Ronan made up for in ham. They stepped this way and that in a brusque Paso Doble, Eduardo evading, Ronan recircling to cut his partner off. At some point Eduardo broke for the back door, barging past the clusters of policemen, now gregariously chatting amongst themselves, and shouted shrilly for his people to follow him inside and begin setting up the buffet. But the door was closed and would not open: the security guard on the other side was loyal to Ronan. Eduardo, with probably genuine exasperation now, strode back, spitting vitriol as he passed the police and Ronan, who merely turned their necks to follow him. He made for a picnic bench near the barbeque grill. With the look of a birthday boy whose candles are being blown out by the other kids, he slumped down next to his consort and crossed his arms.

I wandered up the grassy hill to the barbed-wire-topped chain-link fence that separated the inner parking lot from the grounds surrounding the gymnasium. From there I could see the line and the people waiting outside the line in clumps, sitting and standing, relaxed and conversing. A helicopter from the Polícia Militar orbited overhead in

ellipsoid paths, sweeping its spot on the idle crowd. Some of them, bathed momentarily in brightness, seized the chance to dance, wave, and send the disembodied eye back home with a middle finger. I spied the woman in the rose-colored dress, whose presence now made sense, and saw with her several men, whom I judged to be in their 40s. Seeing me approach the far side of the fence, one of the men, a *moreno* Brazilian dressed neatly but inelegantly, came to me and made conversation. He reiterated what I had heard Eduardo say, that there was to be a salsa dance that night. As if on cue, my ears picked up the sounds of Latin pop music issuing from inside the hall: it had either been on since I first saw Eduardo in the gym, but I had only now noticed, or Eduardo had succeeded in re-entering the gym and was getting his dance ready. The man displayed a mild contempt for the metal show—one I interpreted to be “cultural” in the Romantic sense—coupled with a righteousness that his event should prevail. Or was it a hopefulness?

He moved back to his group and I called over to three *metaleiros* (“metalheads”) leaning against a low wall running from the fence to the outside wall of the gymnasium. They must have felt no need to hold a place in line, as it was obvious by now—sometime after 11:00 pm—from the number of people waiting that there would be no crush, no risk of not getting good position near the stage. I told them what was happening, feeling sympathy for them, as they had been waiting as much as four hours without the slightest explanation as to the nature of the delay or the fate of the show. They were two boys, Daniel and André, and one girl, Leiry. The oldest was 16. Daniel was Japanese, born in Japan and had moved to Brazil without his parents several years before. He spoke with flawless grammar and a pronounced accent. For about 20 minutes we spoke about music,

rock, metal, the show, and our interests. In the end we exchanged phone numbers and email addresses, as the idea of being interviewed at a later date animated them.

I walked back down the slope. The board had not changed; all pieces were as before. Soon the gym door opened and a light-skinned man approached Ronan and the officers with whom he was standing and presented a series of papers clipped together. I realized this was the contract when he then walked over to where Eduardo and his woman were seated, and with the papers turned away from me, pointed to what I surmised was the pertinent clause and said something about 5 o'clock. Eduardo's incredulous, gasping "¿Qué?!", iterated in a climbing register with ever more clarity, floated on an air of curious focus, all other conversation having halted. His gestured rejection of the applicability of this clause and a policeman's subtle motioning with the hands for him to calm down appeared to communicate to Ronan that the tide had turned in his favor (if he had ever had doubt), for gone were his supplicant, darting glances. He looked on from a slight distance, poker-faced. I then learned that only the decision of a *juiz* (judge) would constitute settlement in this case, and all parties now awaited his arrival. Given the day of the week and the late hour—nearly midnight—I assumed that, for such a personage, wait indeed we would and so walked back inside the gym.

The Latin pop music continued, but there was no buffet set up and no salsa dancers dancing salsa. No one new seemed to have entered the building. Thalion had hung a large brown cloth, painted with their name and an image of a head, on the back wall of the stage. I sat with Guiminha on a cement bench that ran the length of the wall separating the main floor from the bleachers, and we talked about the conflict. He said

that he had warned the guys in Khallice that Ronan meant trouble, but that they had agreed to the risk. Later, talking to Netto about the night, I learned that Ronan had a reputation with some for doing a messy job with shows. Contemplating that such events were always risky for everyone involved, I could only wonder if anyone—the musicians in the gym, where an atmosphere of peaking frustration merged with another of spreading resignation, Ronan and his crew out back in impatient stasis, or the crowd out front, where alternating currents of chaos and calm could be felt—believed at this point that it had been worth it.

On stage I conferred with Khallice and saw that they were a mixture of serene, nervous (this was the drummer's first performance with the band), tired, amused, and irritated. Netto said to me, "This is *my life*. I am *too old* for this shit." I took the picture below. Second from the left is Ticho Lavenère, who was to sit in on drums for Khallice's final song.



Photo 4: (left to right) Guiminha, Ticho Lavenère, Maurício Barbosa (drums, Khallice), Alírio Netto (vocals, Khallice), Thalion's guitarist, Marcelo Barbosa (guitars, Khallice), Marcelo's wife, and Gaby, Netto's then-girlfriend, backstage before the show. Photo taken at 11:15.

Before it got better for the die-hard youth outside, who had weathered as much as six hours of uncertainty, neglect from the event's producer, and discriminatory surveillance from above, it got worse. Inside, I heard a hard rain beat against the roof, resounding with the hollowness of a tanker's hull. The muffled staccato beating could have been the sound of the double-pedal kick drum *de rigueur* with metal bands. Lights from the parking lot illuminated topaz streams of ropey water rushing down the closed transom window vents near the ceiling. Summer rainstorms in Brasília tend to be short-

lived, though at their height they dump enough water in a half hour to create calf-high puddles in the troughs in the roadways that soak motors, stopping cars in their tracks. Grassy areas, which abound, turn to wetlands. Those youth closest to the door would enjoy the overhang reaching maybe 15 feet out; those eating and drinking with the vendors out in the public parking lot under the stars would be sopped.

The doors opened. If it was the judge arbitrating for Ronan, or the rain creating sympathies, I did not know. At first a trickle—one, two, three solitary figures slipped in and bounded down the stairs—then, as if a dam burst, the dark horde swarmed in, flying down the stairs, thronging the floor before the stage. When the show finally began, some 20 minutes later, it would have appeared to someone arriving just then that nothing out of the ordinary had taken place: The crowd could be seen pressing close to the stage, the instruments were in place, colored lights were lit, and musicians were assuming their positions. Only when Thalion's singer introduced herself and the band and thanked the crowd for not giving up and proving that metal fans were "the best," would one have sensed that there had been a delay. The crowd's appreciative cheers were followed by the sounds of their joy and relief when the amplifiers finally spoke, crackling with overdriven square waves—distorted, pulsing, heavy, metallic, grinding, sharp, scathing, high and deep at the same time.

Interlude 5:

11:50 pm—It's raining.

12 am—Still waiting for the judge.

12:07 am—Doors open. Wet and excited, the youth storm the gym floor! Ronan apologizes to crowd, vaguely blames city.



Photo 5: The first of the audience enters, running down the stairs (in the background) from the entrance (not visible, off to the right). The grates maintained a special access space about 10 feet deep from the stage. Photo taken at 12:07.

12:30 am—Thalion begins. Gym 1/10th full. 1/15th? Kid 10 years old on shoulders. A large, elliptical pogo forms, about 20 feet along the longest axis, behind the main body of the crowd, about 30 feet from the grates that section off an inconsistently controlled special access area. Shirtless torsos with arms akimbo hurtle here and there, gleeful heads lolling, body bouncing off of body: now racing round the periphery, now changing vectors and veering into the ring to ricochet off another mosher. It's like watching gigantic quantum particles.

The Roda de Pogo—a tradition reinvented

Samba de roda and *capoeira* are two of Brazil's most widely recognized styles of music and dance. The former was recently proclaimed by UNESCO to be among the masterpieces of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity. Barbara Browning, in her book *Resistance in Motion*, talks beautifully about the significance of the roda, or ring, in the two forms mentioned above, as well as in the possession rituals of the Afro-Brazilian religion candomblé. The roda served to protect the *capoeiristas* from repression, injury, or imprisonment by the authorities, who in slavery times regarded it as subversive, by hiding their movements from outside view. It also served to intensify the dancing taking place within its bounds. In metal, punk, and hardcore shows, another kind of roda forms, one known as *pogo*.

Commonly called a “mosh pit” in English, the *roda de pogo* takes its name from the English/American term for a jumping kind of dancing popular since the early days of punk. It is not a word one hears much in English these days, possibly because “slam dancing” and “moshing” are more common. The roda forms suddenly, first from the outside in, then from the inside out, as bodies, cued by the drums, rush towards an unmapped center like matter from a collapsing star. The implosion is followed by a bursting away from the center, as bodies begin their circular motion; then a consolidation of shape and size, as the center, or nucleus, and periphery are defined; and then the formation of the outer ring, a sort of “accretion disk” to further the astronomical metaphor. More or less static bodies populate this ring, people who may be drawn into

the pogo from the general, undifferentiated crowd beyond. It also serves as sideline for recuperating moshers and ringside “seating” for amused onlookers.

The *roda de pogo* forms front and center, sometimes bordering the stage. What’s locally called “pogo” is a dance in which people, depending on the rhythm of the music, either hurl their bodies against each other like bumper cars (i.e. slam dancing), or march around in a generally counter-clockwise circle, plowing forth as if through dense brush or high water. Some flail their arms and legs about for maximum contact, others block incoming blows by holding their heads behind squared-off arms. For even greater effect some deliberately wade against the flow or cut at right angles to the current. The typical stance is the head held slightly lowered and sheltered inside rounded shoulders with arms bent at acute angles and held chin-high, fists closed. In motion, the arms are moved like eggbeaters, the knees are raised slightly higher, and strides are longer than in normal walking. Speed is not crucial; force is, whether externalized, i.e. inflicted on others, or internalized in an act of resistance against incoming blows.

Usually a *roda* remains fairly static in size, in both area occupied and number of participants over the course of a show. Its intensity, however, is totally variable, dependent on the speed, density, and timbre of the rhythms played. A change in rhythm, common in current hardcore-metal crossover music, has visible choreographic effects, such as a change in the velocity, intensity, or number of dancers. It looks exceedingly aggressive, and people do get injured. But such appearance is belied by the care with which dancers generally treat one another. If someone begins to fall, hands are there for support; if someone should go down, people in the immediate area reach to the floor to

lift up the fallen one. If eyeglasses are jarred loose and disappear below, anonymous arms and bodies swiftly cordon off the area, and a collective search ensues.

Dancers are also cognizant of the limits of the roda and tend to direct their force inwardly. Those in the accretion disk push back on bodies caroming towards them, shoving hard with malicious delight. It is an intermediate degree of involvement, a way of basking in the energy radiating out of the roda. As if on rocks, they stand at sea's edge, thrilling in the spray of crashing waves, but little thought of plunging into the maelstrom. A few look and act genuinely irritated by contact with the dancers. On occasion I witnessed truly evil acts, such as a young man trying to burn approaching bodies with a cigarette, or a young woman wearing high-heeled boots and seated on a chair kicking retreating dancers in the lower back. These are rare breaches in an unspoken etiquette equivalent to Epictetus's warning that should you go to a public bath, know that you will likely get splashed.

Even with the right music, the roda cannot form absent the critical mass, a function of the number of people and the size of the space. These, then, are the three fundamental elements: music, space, and bodies. Physical space and human density have a direct relationship: the larger the space, the more people are needed to fill it. Small groups can pogo in tight spaces. Large spaces, such as in the hall where Khallice's show took place, or an outdoor festival, require large crowds to generate critical mass. There is most likely an ideal person-to-square-meter ratio, though other factors enter into the equation, even if peripherally, such as lighting and clothing. But again, the music must be of the necessary intensity (itself a complex relationship of loudness, timbre, and

velocity); the other elements alone will not induce a *roda de pogo*. Once formed, the *roda* relies on the energy and pressure of those in the outer ring and may become too dispersed if they do not contain the centrifugal force of the dancers. This occurs when the general public beyond the outer ring are not able to fill the space so as to maintain a general pressure on the pogoers, and the outer ring itself disperses outward. The *roda* grows in size, but loses intensity, much like what happens in the later stages of a star's lifetime, when it swells in size but cools down. A bloated *roda de pogo* loses its vital energy through dissipation and will not likely contract again until at least one of the three fundamental elements undergoes change and energizes the *roda*. Usually a change in music is the most effective in this case; a simple increase in tempo, the interpolation of extra beats on the snare or kick drum, or a distorted scream may be just enough to revivify the *roda*.

The spacious, low-density *rodas* are often the most vicious, as the dancers try to compensate with brutality for the low energy total. Pœna played an outdoor event with a high stage, and I watched from above as the *roda* grew in area and some dancers tried to fill the space with hooks, uppercuts and wheeling donkey kicks. Fisticuffs erupted in one corner, followed by a general, gleeful mayhem and the unattended admonishments of the event's producer that "Rock isn't about this!" A chase began, weaving in and out of the crowd. Security appeared like ants at a picnic, and the early, escorted egress of a few moshers had a chilling effect on the *roda*, reducing it down to the solo dancing of a few isolated, insistent moshers. By the first beats of the next song, however, the public had shrugged off memory of the episode, and the frenzy returned.

The tightest rodas are the most enjoyable—the compactness increases contact without upping the forcefulness of collisions. Their vigor is also a function of the intimacy generated by the compactness. As the dancers are most always fans of the band playing, they feel a fraternity with one another. The familiarity of the faces approaching in full career is comforting, and an elbow is taken in good humor. Smiles flash while people bash into each other. As they grab a breath in the outer ring, they shake their heads and grow their eyes as if to say “Can you believe how great this roda is?!?”



Photo 6: A low density *roda de pogo*. Several dancers can be seen marching in counter-clockwise direction.

Back at the Khallice show, a second group stood in front of the roda, throwing their hands in the air, making the common metal/rocker sign (forefinger and pinky

extended, middle and ring finger curled down, with the thumb either holding these down or extended out to the side; wrist may be turned in, out or to the side) with one or both hands, singing the lyrics and/or the guitar licks like *tabla* players do their *tal*. Some sat in the bleachers, some congregated on the balcony, others milled about the largely empty floor, the “bar,” and the bathrooms. In all, there seemed to be around 250 people present, which, combined with the stage-only lighting and the age of the crowd, gave the space a small-town-high-school-dance-like atmosphere.

Interlude 6:

12:40—Grandparents from Rio to see bassist of Tributo a Malmsteen seated in balcony—do they know how long they still have to wait? Firemen holding back a drunk girl from throwing punches at . . . Jailson, who is being shuffled to the other side.

1:15 am—Thalion ends. Ronan throwing t-shirts to crowd as roadies strike and rebuild drum set, reposition monitors, plug in keyboard and guitars, and position mics and pedals for Khallice. 4 axes, 2 keyboards, bass and drums.

1:40 am—Khallice begins.

1:51am—Power fails on stage. Frustration, apologies. Netto sings “Lord, won’t you buy me a Mercedes Benz” a cappella. Then bass solo—though Michel obviously less comfortable than Netto in ad libbing.

1:54 am—Power back on.

1:56 am—Power dies again. Another frustrated apology, this time no solo.

1:57 am—Back on.

2:04 am—Ticho, off stage, sees/hears something wrong, runs on stage and repositions kick drum, which had slipped away from pedal from the force of the beating. Ronan's girlfriend carrying shoebox around under arm. Kids in audience are crazy for Netto and Marcelo, singing and accompanying the guitar licks, signaling the rhythmic changes with flicks of wrist and fingers.

2:40 am—Khallice ends.



Photo 7: Renato (keyboards), Michel (bassist), Netto (vocalist) and Marcelo (guitar).

During the 25-minute interval between Thalion and Khallice I hung out in the stage-right wings, watching the roadie, the technician, the sound man and Khallice's band members do their jobs. Ticho and I headed outside immediately behind the stage, where

he gave me feedback on a text I had written about my research. We returned to watch Ronan throw out more t-shirts, as Khallice settled into their instruments. Netto thanked everyone for enduring the excruciating wait, then announced that they had placed the new song “Stuck,” from their forthcoming CD, and “Madman Lullaby,” the bonus track from their first CD *The Journey*, on their website for free streaming and download. They launched into “Stuck,” and the reaction seemed positive. The crowd was engaged, watching the performers closely. During the second song, when the power failed, their reaction to Netto and Michel’s improvisations was also positive—they showed no signs of the irritation one might imagine.



Photo 8: Netto.

Khallice's show, after the second power failure, went off without a hitch. I could see several in the audience singing the lyrics (in English), others anticipating the rhythmic and harmonic changes, and still others picking along with Marcelo. Khallice's music is full of unpredictable changes in rhythm and melody, characteristic of progressive metal, much more so than Thalion's rather straight-ahead heavy metal. These were dedicated fans. I was impressed by the looks on the faces of some of the fans as they gazed up at Netto and Marcelo—I saw worship in their eyes. They beheld stars before them, musicians who brought to them what they most desired in music. The exoticism of metal—the English lyrics, the gothic, the Celtic, the medieval, the sacred and the pagan imagery, the tribal appeal of its accoutrement—was being lived, rendered real right here! Khallice was making accessible to these youth what seemed usually so distant. Even if Khallice were Brazilians like them.



Photo 9: Marcelo and crowd. This and the previous 3 photos were taken between 2:10 and 2:25.

After Khallice's show, I waited around to hear the beginning of Tributo a Malmsteen's show. It took about 20 minutes to strike Khallice's show and set up theirs. I looked around for their bassist's grandparents, to see if they were still there. I could not find them. My stamina was waning: eight hours on foot and almost constant noise (even with earplugs). At 3 am I headed outside, where it was drizzling. Under the overhang I paused, feeling visceral relief in the minute dispersion of the vibrations from my body. I realized that in effect I was leaving midway through the show and wondered, distantly, if I was neglecting my ethnographic duty. I walked out into the half-dark, out of the inner parking lot, through the gate where nearly half a day earlier I had played traffic cop to assuage the unfounded fears of two security guards, and through the public parking lot

past crushed and scattered plastic cups. Paper napkins were plastered to the asphalt in front of wet and idle vendors, whose tiny vans and carts, resting at random angles, looked like weary donkeys, kipping alone and dejected.

Chapter 5

Architectonics 3: Place as Presence: *Dark Matter*

Chapter 3 looked at place from primarily an historical point of view, and Chapter 4 approached place from a physio-structural angle. The present chapter conceptualizes place personally, as a product of personal engagement, interpersonal interaction, social commitment, and the force of feeling. *Place as presence* will analyze aesthetics, social actions, and emotions of individuals and groups. I shall argue that both the agents and the effects of their very presence constitute Brasília.

The metaphor of dark matter is meant to “illuminate” these unseen personal aspects of the rock scene. The underground, if perceived at all by the majority, the mainstream, is poorly understood. Dark matter is a metaphor that enables a richer understanding of what holds the underground universe together, what makes the scene work, what keeps everything from flying apart and being absorbed into the mainstream. This metaphorical dark matter is as responsible for the constituting of place in the rock underground of Brasília as the real dark matter is for the structuring of the place we all live, the universe. Clumping—how bands are drawn into alliances and clusters (panelas), as stellar matter—reveals the presence of social relationships, the dark matter bonds that give the underground structure and cohesion.

This chapter, like the others, comprises three sections, although they are not “refrains” as they were in the previous chapters. Rather than represent a local discourse, each section presents a facet of my interpretation of *place as presence*, a fold in the fabric

of the rock underground, of the place its members create. The chapter's central metaphor, dark matter, unpacks the foci of the energy fueling the action, and each section presents one focus. In the final analysis place happens, comes to be, is formed because of the profound commitment to the underground; each section illustrates a channel for this commitment.

The first section, "Aesthetics," focuses on the commitment to issues of look and sound. Here, dark matter invokes the convention of wearing black. Large gatherings of black-clad youth are visual markers of the rock underground. The second section, "Society," discusses networks and the commitment to social programs; dark matter here invokes the connections that hold the community together, the energy these bonds generate, and rockers' unseen social actions that in some, even if small, ways keeps larger society from falling apart. The third section, "Emotions," suggests that what makes it all happen is an emotional commitment to the music, to the community, to the scene, and to life itself; dark matter invokes this invisible layer of energy.

Dark Matter: Aesthetics

It's like, a guy with a Discharge t-shirt or such, I go right up, sit down next to him, have a beer, ask him how he's doing. Even if it's someone I've never seen at a show. The black t-shirt is the first sign [laughs]—a black band t-shirt, or a white t-

shirt with a punk band on it, man—that’s a signal! That kind of person is a friend!¹⁶¹ (Lopes 2005).

The sound and the look are aspects of the underground rock scene that are closely tied to creation and maintenance of the musical community. The black t-shirt and black clothes in general are *de rigueur* at rock gatherings in general, especially in the underground. The t-shirt signals participation in the community via its color and the symbol it carries, most often a band, but sometimes an instrument company (like Fender or Condor), an event (Porão do Rock), or home-made ones with an appropriate image or phrase. Bands shirts are far and away the favorite type. This list, in no particular order, represents the kind of variety I typically encountered at events large or small: Dio, Iron Maiden, Dream Theater, Ozzy Osbourne, Black Sabbath, Metallica, ARD, Pœna, Brujeria, Nirvana, Kurt Cobain, Rage against the Machine, Angra, The Ramones, The Exploited, Discharge, Children of Sodom, Cannibal Corpse, Ratos de Porão, Marilyn Manson, Raul Seixas, Torture Squad, Slipknot, Vital Remains, Krisium, Pantera, Plebe Rude, The Doors, Kreator, Evergrey, Motörhead, Korzus, Guns ‘n’ Roses, Evanescence, Phrenesy, Corpse Grinder, System of a Down, Sepultura, AC/DC, Behemoth, Eterna, Janis Joplin, Nightwish, Linkin Park, Green Lantern, Led Zeppelin, Barão Vermelho, Pitty, Massacration, Legião Urbana, CPM22, Helloween, Red Hot Chili Peppers, Bob Marley, Pearl Jam, Shaaman, and Korn. About three-fourths of these bands/musicians are

¹⁶¹ “Tipo, um cara com a camiseta do Discharge e tal, eu já chego, sento do lado, tomo uma cervejinha, pergunto como é que tá. Mesmo que seja um cara que eu nunca tenha visto em xou. Blusa preta é o primeiro sinal (risos). Camiseta preta com nome de banda, ou camiseta branca com nome de banda punk—nossa—isso já é um sinal! Esse tipo de gente já é amigo!”

not Brazilian. Most fall into the hard rock and metal categories, though other genres are represented. (Some of these names are the same named as influences in Chapter 2.)

Cascão noted that a significant difference between the early punk movements in Brasília and São Paulo was that the former was more “aesthetic” (i.e. “less raw”), which he attributed to the superior economic conditions of the Brasiliense youth. This gave them, in his view, a structure in which they could study in better schools, learn to speak English, and have greater contact with the outside world. In short, they could take advantage of the city’s cosmopolitanism, which gave their brand of punk an additional “aesthetic” quality. This is the very quality used by some “purists” to delegitimize them (see Chapter 2, note 44). I cannot opine on how different they sounded, because early Brasiliense punk rock was never recorded. Musical and aesthetic differences aside, however, the punk aesthetic was an important aspect of punk rockers’ commitment to ideals, both in Brasília and São Paulo (as in other parts of the world). Cascão noted that:

The visual aspect itself put you at odds with what was common. Logically, this was part of our [figurative] baseball bat, of our “Clockwork Orange,” remember? You wanted to shock people, to say, “Hey, hold it right there, you have to deal with differences. Not just intellectual ones, but stereotypes, too. I’m different from you, so we have to accept each other on a daily basis. I don’t want to scare you, but if my looks do scare you, it’s your problem, not mine. You scare me, too, with your mediocrity, with your intellectual insufficiency. . . . Look, an earring isn’t going to change anybody’s masculinity.” . . . [I]t was a way of standing up to

the State, to the establishment, to the structure that was much more dangerous than we were, that was beating on us all along. But we knew where to hit back. We kicked at [the State's] ankles, *pá-pá-pá*, and shortly thereafter it fell. We read, and we knew how to use it. And we were strong, we had the blood of youth—which is essential for any kind of change.¹⁶² (Cascão 2005).

Cascão's reference to reading and his earlier mention of Bakunin, as well as Fê Lemos's naming of Baudelaire as an early influence, supports statements above that he and his peers had access to knowledge received through this particular mode that infused their art, their thinking about their community, and the social and political situation facing it. An interesting question, but one I have no way of answering at this point, is how this kind of knowledge was transformed into an aesthetic front in the advancement of musical, social, and political goals.

The t-shirt, then, is a sign that works on two aesthetic levels: its appearance (color and icon) signal community belonging through both visual and aural cues. The appearance works to differentiate the wearer from the non-rock community, as black is rarely worn in larger society.¹⁶³ Like the earring mentioned above, it startles, signals that

¹⁶² “O próprio visual se contrapunha à situação comum. Lógico que isso também fazia parte do nosso bastão de baseball, do ‘Laranja Mecânica,’ lembra? Você queria assustar também, de falar, ‘Pó, pêra aí, vocês têm de lidar com as diferenças. Não só intelectuais, mas estereotipas também. Eu sou diferente de você, então a gente tem de se admitir no dia-a-dia. Eu não quero te assustar, se o meu visual te assusta, o problema não é meu, é seu. Pra mim, você também me assusta com a sua mediocridade, com a sua insuficiência intelectual. . . . Olha, um brinco não vai modificar a masculinidade de ninguém.’ . . . [E]ra uma maneira de peitar o Estado, de peitar o establishment, de peitar a estrutura que era muito mais poderosa do que a gente, que vinha batendo. Só que a gente sabia onde bater. A gente ia batendo na canela, pa pa pa, e daqui a pouco caía. A gente lia, a gente tinha conhecimento de como usar isso. E a gente tinha a força, o sangue da juventude, que é essencial pra qualquer mudança. . . .”

¹⁶³ Reasons for this are not clear: it could be the heat of the tropics and also the good/evil symbology of white and black, particularly evident during *Carnaval*, on New Year's Eve, and Candomblé celebrations, when wearing black is seemingly proscribed.

the wearer wishes to be recognized as different. The icon on the t-shirt serves to do the same, especially in the case of graphically unsettling imagery. But the band/festival/instrument brand icon also communicate that the community is based in sound. Aural conventions are transmitted through reference to other music. In this way the rock community can defend its sonic borders. For the underground scene within rock this is even more important, given the lack of media representation and a general perception of discrimination. I believe we see this extra importance in the fact that at underground shows more black is worn, band t-shirts are more common, and the images tend to be more aggressive and arresting than those of mainstream rock. These qualities are mirrored in the sound and the dancing.

Local society exerts noticeable pressure to conform to visual norms. People sometimes derided me in public on account of my mohawk: If the person jeering was with at least one other friend, the method was most frequently to point and laugh in an obnoxiously exaggerated manner; if alone, it would more likely be a comment under the breath or a simple snort. If *I* were among friends, a silent stare of censure or ridicule were more common. Brasília is often thought to be paradoxically provincial and cosmopolitan by Brasilienses; but I see this repression as having to do with the pressure to affirm one's brasilidade. A mohawk, and the punk aesthetic more generally, is not a sign of brasilidade (not even in São Paulo). If it were less brash, less in-your-face, less *weird*, its adherents would probably get just a drawn-out stare of unabashed curiosity (Brazilians stare at others more overtly than is customary in the U.S.), as does, say, an African diplomat dressed in traditional clothing. But its brashness is part of its appeal. The

repressive ridiculing that a punk must weather might be a sign of others' desire for what they perceive to be the punk's freedom; it is certain that this repression and society's conservatism in general strengthen the underground's resolve to maintain the "safe haven" of their shows.

Such claims of difference, aesthetically communicated, may serve the deeper purpose of pushing against social, even political, boundaries. The challenging of stereotypes (Cascão's comment in Chapter 3, about sexuality and use of an earring, is emblematic) is an aspect of the struggle, and their resignification is a strategy in defining territory. Commitment to the scene, I believe, derives to a great extent from the sense that no one in the "outside world" will advocate for it, so its defense is entirely up to its members. But proclaiming difference comes with a price—discrimination. Discrimination is an area particularly sensitive to members of the underground, and I shall return to it at the end of this chapter.

The Aural Aesthetic

The aural is the central modality of the underground aesthetic, and a live show is where this aesthetic is most acutely perceived. The problems of place detailed in the foregoing chapters leave the underground community with but one choice: DIY.

Assembling shows with few resources requires the banding together of individuals and entities engaged in a wide variety of activities. An organizer will need commitments from five or more bands for purposes of variety (a draw for crowds) and length of show, as bands' sets tend last around half an hour each. In contrast, a mainstream rock show at a

bar like Gate's Pub may have a single band play several sets, interspersed with mechanical music. A typical show with five bands will stretch over more than three hours, perhaps lasting as much as four. This is a length of time that both seems worth the cover charge (from R\$0-10) and makes the show the central event of people's night. Add the hours spent prior to and after the show socializing in the immediate vicinity, usually in the street or parking lot outside the venue, and the event can span six hours.

Selecting the locale is not easy. As no "governing" space for rock exists, organizers must weigh issues of size, location, cost, availability and quality of equipment, infrastructure (bathrooms, bar, entrances/exits), lighting, emergency utilities (exits, fire extinguishers, *no-breaks* (fluorescent lamps that automatically illuminate in power outages)), security needs, parking, whether the locale owns the proper *alvará*, and more. In practice, the range of choices ends up being quite limited. Shows to some degree will adapt to a locale's conditions. For example, the rental fee of the space is a major determinant in setting the cover charge, which may affect other issues: to keep the cover low, corners may be cut on equipment rentals. Also, the quality of sound equipment and stage lighting will affect the experience of the show. As mentioned above, proximity to areas of high axiality and conduits of mass transit is crucial, given the dependency on buses of many in the underground.

The organizer must get someone to run the soundboard, someone to work the door, someone to be in the box office (if one is used), and a roadie to help with cables, equipment, and instruments. Publicity, in the form of flyers, fanzines, and web-based mailings must be organized, executed, and circulated/distributed. Radios and newspapers

may have to be alerted. *Patrocínio* (sponsorship) like that Ronan arranged for the show described in Vignette 2 must be sought (though it may not be secured). It is a full-time job, and the organizer assumes all the financial risk. Ronan is the only one to make a living in this way. Fellipe CDC, the other principal organizer, puts together anywhere from four to eight shows a year. His are a combination of randomly occurring shows, usually headlining a band from São Paulo with four or five local ones, and regularly occurring ones, such as “Headbanger’s Attack” every May. Other producers are known for specific events, like Amarildo from Gama, who puts together “Face do Caos” (“Face of Chaos”) every September, the collective of Hery, Barbosa, Alice, et al. who run the three-day event “Caga Sangue” (“Shit Blood”) in June, and Kbça, whose “Duelo de Bandas” (“Battle of the Bands”) takes place in Gama every March. All of these events have an entrance fee, usually in the range of R\$5-10. This contrasts with the prices of R\$15 for shows at bars in the Pilot Plan, like Gate’s Pub and UK-Brasil Pub. Marcelo “Podreira” puts together events in the satellite city of Riacho Fundo that are traditionally free.

Producers/organizers like Fellipe CDC and Ronan play a crucial role in providing bands with *place to play* and fans with a place to meet. Sometimes a band can approach a bar owner and organize a show, which in the underground depends on a high level of cooperation between the two sides. Frequently, the bar provides the P.A., microphones and stands, and the sound board. It will likely supply a partial drum kit—one or two floor toms, the kick drum, a simple pedal, the *ferragem* (the stands for a snare drum, and crash, ride, and hi-hat cymbals), and a stool. The drummers must supply cymbals, often a snare,

and a double pedal, if used. The bands bring amplifiers. When multiple bands play a single show, they sometimes share equipment, although this depends on the personalities involved.

A typical financial arrangement is one where the owner of the bar keeps bar proceeds, while the band or show organizer keeps money from ticket sales. As noted, the venue's owner may also charge a rental fee for the space. The bands playing may or may not receive any money. When they play for free, they are doing it out of *brodagem*, a slang word derived from the English word "brother," idiomized as *bróder* and *bró*. Brodagem combines the morpheme *brod-* with *-agem*, a suffix sometimes employed to create an abstract noun from an adjective to describe the way of doing something, mannerisms, an orientation, or a collectivity of some sort. Brodagem communicates doing something out of camaraderie, which demands at times that one do things that one otherwise would not. This, and the by-definition absence of financial compensation, may be the source of the negative tinge at times coloring its meaning. It is a fact that the underground turns on brodagem, as the scarcity of financial capital make it imperative that people rely on each other in this way. Thus, those who have many friends have great social capital. An adage captures this well: "A friend in the square is worth more than money in the pocket."¹⁶⁴

Juliano gave a sense of the reception visiting bands can count on in the underground:

¹⁶⁴ "Um amigo na praça é melhor que dinheiro no bolso."

Bands, when they come and play here . . . we put them up, get them some grub, like that. They won't be left high and dry here, not in their worst nightmare.

Because we don't count on governmental support, hotel rooms or restaurants. We have to get everyone together, go out for a spin before and after the show, find them crash space—and there's always people volunteering. And it only strengthens the social bonds. . . . [I]n truth, this is what keeps the scene going.¹⁶⁵ (Lopes 2005).

An example of *brodagem* in action is the production of a show Gilmar and Juliano's band ARD was going to play in Brasília with the São Paulo-based band Sociedade Armada ("Armed Society"), currently enjoying a strong following, and the local bands Galinha Preta ("Black Hen") and Detergente CO. Referring to the visiting headliners, he said, "The guys are coming to play for the cost of the trip. They're coming by bus all the way from São Paulo, so frickin' far. And there has to be a place for them to stay, so two guys will be in one person's house, and the other in someone else's." In addition, they would get a small percentage of ticket sales, plus beer after the show. Often bands get just the beer—or (bottled) water as the case may be. (Jôsefer said that when payment for playing was water, he was happy, as then he would not have to buy it.) The sound equipment for the show cost R\$500 to rent, but there was a scramble to find someone to work the board. In the end ARD, a band with 23 years of experience, played

¹⁶⁵ "As bandas quando vêm tocar aqui . . . a gente descola lugar para eles dormirem e tals, rola um rango e tudo mais. Não vão ficar na mão aqui, nem em sonho. Pois a gente não conta com apoio governamental, estadias em hotéis e restaurantes. Tem que juntar todo mundo, sair no rolê antes e depois do xou, daí é arrumar um lugar para a galera dormir, e sempre alguém se dispõe. E tudo isso só engorda os laços sociais. . . . [N]a verdade, isso é que mantém a cena de pé."

“because we’re friends of the [organizer]. Put a 12-pack of beer on stage, a water, and let three friends in for free, and that’s just fine for us. That’s how things work on this circuit” (Santos 2005b).¹⁶⁶

At another moment Juliano underscored the fundamentality of *brodagem* with a comparison of local conditions and those elsewhere.

In Europe the independent market is in place, with lots of people involved, even in São Paulo, with independent media, niche stores, organizers who pay for bands’ [bus or plane] tickets, etc. It’s not like that here. Everyone is “invited” to play. You want to play, you play, but you get nothing, not even your ticket. You end up spending more money than you get back. It’s not that we’re aiming for profit or whatever, but we have to have at least enough for subsistence.¹⁶⁷ (Lopes 2005).

My own visits to São Paulo, both alone and with my band, confirmed the existence of a stronger underground market.¹⁶⁸

Brodagem can take many forms. Aside from playing for free, one can sell tickets, work the door, hand out flyers, work the sound board, be a roadie, and make copies of

¹⁶⁶ “Os caras vêm tocar pela passagem. Estão vindo de ônibus lá de São Paulo, longe para caramba. E tem que ter um local pros caras ficarem, então já vão ficar dois na casa de um, um na casa de outro. . . . A gente vai tocar lá porque é amigo do cara. Bota uma dúzia de cerveja no palco e uma água, e deixa uns três amigos entrarem e está ótimo pra gente. Funciona assim o circuito.”

¹⁶⁷ “Na Europa já existe um mercado independente formado, com gente bastante envolvida, até mesmo em São Paulo, com mídia independente, lojas especializadas, organizadores que bancam as passagens da banda etc. aqui não, todo mundo é ‘convidado’ para tocar. Quer tocar, toca, mas sem receber nada, nem mesmo passagem. Acaba gastando mais dinheiro que recebendo. Não que queremos visar lucro e tals, mas o mínimo da subsistência material temos que ter.”

¹⁶⁸ My trip with X-GRANITO, ARD, and three other bands from the DF to play in São Paulo was also occasion to confirm tales of police suspicion of punks: walking back to our van from the Galeria do Rock, a large complex of rock- and rap-oriented stores, some 10 of us were suddenly ordered against the wall, hands up and legs spread. The infamous *bacu*, or pat-down, lasted about ten minutes, with a mixture of verbal provocations, insults, rough handling, and dissonant pleasantries.

fanzines and pass them on, among many other activities. Phú, who for years has led his own bands and underground label, recalled his trip across Europe as roadie for the São Paulo-based Ação Direta (“Direct Action”). He saw it as a chance to put the local scene in contact with that of Europe via the distribution of local bands’ materials.

I went to get to know how the punk rock and hardcore scene works, because the strongest scene is in Europe, and the strongest there is in Germany. . . . There’s a ton of fanzines, shows from Monday to Monday, and people go—*Monday to Monday!* You come from Brazil and a guy comes up to you and buys your button, your sticker, your CD, your LP, gives you food, a place to stay. . . . I took merchandise of Terror [Revolucionário], Innocent Kids, DFC—just Brasília. With my English, “What’s your name?” [pointing at watch, as if to ask the time]. . . . “These bands are from Brasília, the capital of Brazil. Take them.” . . . I went to see what it was like, to brave it. To show that the capital of Brazil is Brasília and to show this is punk rock and hardcore from Brasília. . . . I sold them, I traded them, I gave them away.¹⁶⁹ (Phú 2005).

His trip as roadie took him to Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, Italy, Croatia and the border with England, where he and the band were barred from entering. It appears that to the English government musical instruments are a sign that one will earn

¹⁶⁹ “Fui conhecer pra ver como funciona a cena de punk rock e hardcore, porque a mais forte é na Europa, e a mais forte lá é na Alemanha. . . . Lá tem uma porrada de fanzine. Show de segunda a segunda, nego vai de segunda a segunda! Você é do Brasil e o cara chega lá e compra seu botom seu adesivo, seu CD, seu LP, te dá comida, lugar pra ficar. . . . [L]evei material do Terror, do Innocent Kids, DFC—só Brasília. Com meu inglês, ‘Whats your name?’ . . . ‘Essas bandas são de Brasília, a capital do Brasil. Toma.’ . . . Eu fui também pra pegar, pra desbravar. Pra mostrar que a capital do Brasil é Brasília e pra mostrar que punk rock, hardcore de Brasília é esse. . . . Vendi, troquei, dei.”

money; a work visa was required of the band to enter the country, which they lacked, and they were sent back to the country they had flown out of. The English government's assumption does not correspond to the reality these impecunious bands confront. Yet the fact that an underground band can sell its merchandise and make enough to pay for a several month, multi-country tour in this manner demonstrates that there are resources in the international underground scene, and that fans will support even unknown musicians.

Beavis of the grindcore band Galinha Preta spent 70 days as a roadie with the São Paulo hardcore band Sick Terror. They traveled through more than 20 countries from Finland to Turkey, playing 63 shows in all. Beavis reported that the band slept in squats (abandoned buildings turned into communal housing) more often than not run by vegans or vegetarians, even though the band is not of that political bent (unlike xLinha de Frentex (see track 7 of the CD), the vegan straight-edge hardcore band from Brasília, on tour as of this writing). These squats were buildings, sometimes schools that had been abandoned, which operated like communes. The residents were not always musicians or die-hard members of the punk scene, but their connection with Sick Terror had been established on previous tours. They were invited to stay and eat for free, and Beavis reported that they often left behind some money or supplies as a contribution to the house. Though the band's roadie, he had to pay his own way, making his investment back in sales of merchandise he brought with him from Brazil.

Unlike Phú, Beavis did not observe substantial differences between the local underground scene and the ones he encountered while on the road. "It's all the same," was his vague but telling response to my questioning regarding the similarities and

contrasts. Anecdotes of police suspicion and repression and generalized discomfort of people on the street with the presence of five tattooed and pierced, black-clad youth ambling down the *Fußgängerzonen* in Berlin and Hamburg and through the corridors of the *Kapalicarsi* covered bazaar in Istanbul reminded me of my own experiences in Brasília and São Paulo. He had just returned when we met to talk about his experiences and look at pictures. What emerged most clearly was how trying the tour was.

Gregório Salles, whose metalcore band Deceivers (see track 3 of the CD) spent six months in 2003 first in West Virginia, then in Los Angeles in an attempt to break into the US market. The quintet worked odd jobs and under the table, while playing showcases (in-studio shows for music industry representatives) and in clubs, and mailing promo packs to major labels. They were ultimately unsuccessful in signing a contract, but were positively received by several labels, including Roadrunner and No Name Records. He was informed that despite high quality music (sung in English) and promo material, his band's songs lacked a refrain or anthem, essential for selling a song. They returned to Brazil on the eve of the expiration of their visas. When I asked him about the differences between the markets in Brazil and the US, he pointed to the conjunction of better working conditions and the strength of rock music in the US.

[In the US] there exists this market, and for those who are there, the dream exists, it's always alive, because you work at your job, you get paid decently for what you do, and you can buy whatever you want. After working for a week, you can go to Disney like everyone else. You don't have the differences like [in Brazil],

where you slave away at your job but can't ever buy a guitar and nobody ever has money in your band. . . . So the financial and work situation in Brazil is what really gets you. At the same time you find many more bands whoring themselves to get into a market that isn't traditionally rock. . . . [In the US] you go into a drugstore, you hear Guns N' Roses, you hear Mötley Crüe, especially in LA. You see the offices of record labels everywhere.¹⁷⁰ (Salles 2005).

The twin conditions of an almost total lack of market space (related to the lack of media space discussed last chapter) and low value placed on labor mean great difficulties for musicians in the underground, who find themselves afflicted by both. It reinforces the need for a DIY approach. "Here in Brasília, bands of this type of music make money only when they put on their own show," Gilmar said. Resignedly, he added, "people who make R\$400 on a show and end up owing R\$800—there's nothing more common than that here, you know? Because people really don't patronize [i.e. sponsor] this type of music"¹⁷¹ (Santos 2005b). Fellipe CDC admitted to losing as much as R\$1000 on a show, equivalent to half a month's income. He is considered a hero by many for his work to keep the scene going, and an Orkut community called "Fellipe CDC for Governor" boasts 80 members (who maintain faith despite failure in the last gubernatorial elections).

¹⁷⁰ "[L]á existe um mercado, existe esse mercado, e existe, pra quem está lá, o sonho está sempre vivo, porque você trabalha no seu emprego, você ganha um dinheiro que equivale ao seu emprego, e você pode comprar tudo, em uma semana de você estar trabalhando, você vai pro Disney igual todo mundo. Não tem as diferenças daqui do cara que rala, rala, não consegue comprar uma guitarra, todo mundo não tem dinheiro na banda. . . . Então essa situação financeira e trabalhista no Brasil é o que pega realmente. Ao mesmo tempo você vai ver muito mais bandas se prostituindo pra entrar num mercado que não é tradicionalmente do rock, que é do Brasil, lá é o do rock. Você tá numa farmácia, toca Guns N' Roses, principalmente em LA, toca Mötley Crüe em farmácia. Você vê tem um office em todo lugar."

¹⁷¹ "Banda deste tipo de música aqui em Brasília, só consegue ganhar grana banda quando faz o seu próprio show. Pessoas que fazem um show de R\$400 e ficam devendo R\$800 é o que mais tem aqui, né? Porque realmente as pessoas não patrocinam este tipo de som."

“When you bring a big band, the dudes end up charging what for our reality here is a lot of money,” Gilmar explained. The São Paulo punk quartet Ratos de Porão (“Cellar Rats”), which began in 1981 and is today the biggest underground band in Brazil, charges R\$4,000, plus hotel, airfare, and meals for eight people. “[What they charge] isn’t that much,” Gilmar said, “but it’s expensive for this reality here,”¹⁷² (Santos 2005b). The stated goal of most producers is to go “0 x 0”—i.e., break even. It is not as easy as it might at first sound. Even for a show with bands who will play for just a case of beer, it might be necessary to get at least 200 people through the door, after the costs enumerated above have been tallied. That’s two hundred *paying* people, which in the struggling scene of the Brasiliense underground is no easy feat.

What I termed the “sidewalk culture” (or “parking lot culture,” as the case may be) is a source of both pleasure and frustration. People go to shows to see their friends, to catch up with their *amigos da noite* (people only seen at shows and other nighttime activities), to flirt, to drink, to have a snack, to be seen, to plan other shows, to hand out flyers—for some the music and dancing are secondary. They may not even go into the show, instead stand outside the whole night, mingling in the crowds, with the music but a backdrop, like a soundtrack to the video they and their friends are in. Though everyone at one time or another will be found outside, many believe that to not go into the show is wrong. Jôsefer helped paint the picture:

Lots of people go to a show to stand outside, old man—sometimes [there are]
more outside than in. I get so pissed off, old man, I get indignant. Dude wants to

¹⁷² “Os caras cobram é 5 mil, que é não muito alto, mas é caro para esta realidade.”

drink *cachaça* outside the show, get it? He takes R\$15 and drinks it up in *cachaça*, see how it is? The show costs R\$5 to get in, dude has spent his 15, then goes up to the producer and says, “Hey, what’s the deal, old man, let us in. What, are you trying to ruin it for us? You trying to screw us over? You keeping us out?” But what these folks have to understand, man, is that they got to grow up, get it? As much mentally as socially, because the bands are on the grindstone, you know? They spend money to rehearse and money to get to the show¹⁷³ (Ayres Cunha and Ayres Cunha 2005).

The reality of the struggle to keep the scene alive is so apparent to Jôsefer that this kind of behavior can be a detriment to the music. “These people are more concerned with what they’re going to drink or eat outside than going into the show, with what they consume than with helping the scene. And then they go and say they’re in the scene?”¹⁷⁴ (Ayres Cunha and Ayres Cunha 2005). Gilmar placed the roots of this “disgusting culture” in the past.

[A]t some sad point in the history of Brasiliense rock, lots of people put on free shows, or for R\$1, or a kilo of food, and people got used to it. So if I have R\$50, I’ll spend it on beer with my buddies outside and then go inside for nothing

¹⁷³ Muita gente vai pro show para ficar do lado de fora, véi—às vezes mais fora do quê dentro. Eu fico puto, véi, eu fico indignado. Nêgo quer é tomar cachaça, véi, fora do show, sacou? Nêgo pega R\$15 e toma de cachaça fora do show, sacou como é que é? Aí o show é R\$5 pra entrar, nêgo gastou 15, véi, aí chega no produtor do show, nêgo dono do show e fala: ‘Pô, qual é véi, põe a gente pra dentro, tá tirando a gente? Tá tirando a gente de tempo, sacou? Tá tipo escarrando? Deixando a gente de fora e tal?’ Mas o que essa galera tem que entender, véi, é que eles têm que crescer, sacou véi? Tanto mentalmente quanto, sacou, socialmente, porque as bandas que estão ali, cara, ralando, sacou? Gastam dinheiro pra ensaiar, gastam dinheiro de condução”

¹⁷⁴ “Então a galera fica mais preocupada com o que vai beber ou às vezes até com quanto vai comer, que não entrar no show, sacou? Pra consumir mais lá fora, e não ajudar a cena. Aí fala que tá na cena?”

because it's free. So, the culture of paying R\$10 [to go into a show] to help out your friend [i.e. the musicians or the producer/organizer] does not exist. I make it a point to pay.¹⁷⁵ (Santos 2005b).

It takes a high level of individual and collective commitment to the scene to preserve the scene's desired aesthetics. The visual aesthetics symbolize the aural aesthetics: the dark matter—the usually invisible clots and clusters of black-clad youth congregating in parking lots, on sidewalks, and inside bars and clubs—draws our attention to the existence of a sound that passes as inaudible to most people. As we shall now see, the commitment extends from the aesthetic plane to a social one. Gilmar's reference to food as entrance fee to a show is our ticket to the social realm of the underground, the hidden activities of rockers and their efforts at realizing the utopia that Brasília promised.

Dark Matter: Society

Many people imagine rockers to be “alienated” from their surroundings, from society, almost by nature. One type of alienated rocker is the party animal—the sex, drugs, and rock ‘n’ roll type. Another is the art rocker, the one so intellectualized and directed inwardly into his music as to border on being a misanthrope. The first dances too much; the second has no idea where his body is, but he'd contemplate his navel if knew he had one. Perhaps Iggy Pop symbolizes the first character, while Emerson, Lake, and

¹⁷⁵ “[E]m algum momento triste da historia do rock de Brasília, muitas pessoas faziam show grátis do tipo pague R\$1, um quilo de alimento e as pessoas acostumaram com isso. Então, eu tenho R\$50, gasto de cerveja com meus amigos lá fora e vou entrar sem pagar, porque é de graça. Então, aqui não existe esta cultura de pagar R\$10 para ajudar seu amigo. Eu faço questão de pagar.”

Palmer stand for the second. The notion that rockers are escapists persists, even in a post-Live Aid and Farm Aid era. The idea of rock as rebellion and rockers as rebellious is taken as if truistic, but it's as if the rebellion were "I gotta get outta this place" without any destination planned. In an age where politicized hip-hop is the music with the most message, rockers may even be seen as nostalgic and anachronistic.

The perception of rockers as alienated is shared by many in Brazil, and it goes back to the time of the Jovem Guarda, who were seen by the nationalistic left as disengaged from the political and social struggle. It comes up again with the punk rockers, called "colonized" and "Americanized," as Fê Lemos pointed out. But in Brasília I found many examples of underground rockers dedicating themselves to social causes, and the people who speak in this chapter are a few of them. The activities most often served the underserved, the forgotten, and the marginalized. By bringing education, services, resources, and entertainment to this group, they are also serving society at large. They are the dark matter, the unseen serving the neglected.

But first it is important to look at the social networks from the inside and how these internal bonds are formed and maintained. These are the bonds that give the underground its cohesiveness. Alessandra and Michelle recalled how in the 1980s and early 1990s young rock fans stayed up-to-date with the releases of their favorite bands from abroad, and in the process maintained contact with each other, often making new friends.

Alessandra: We exchanged letters, tapes, and saved up our money. It wasn't cheap to buy a record. They took a long time to come out in Brazil, sometimes three years—a record was released in Europe or in the US and it would get here three years late! “Ooooh, such-and-such a band has a new record . . .”—when in actuality it'd been out for a long time. Those who had more money once in a while bought the record imported. “So-and-so's gonna make a tape for me!” That's what it was, the whole of Brazil trading tapes, because [music] was really expensive, aside from the fact that almost nothing [was sold] in Brasília.¹⁷⁶ (Godinho and Tavares 2005).

This image harks back to Fê Lemos's story of looking for U2's new album with Renato Russo. But a singular difference is that whereas Lemos and Russo were among an elite population of Brasilienses who were able to travel abroad, bringing or sending back home music from the US and Europe, Alessandra and Michelle describe how the nascent underground functioned. Without the opportunities the “children of diplomats” (as Podrão referred above to the elite class) enjoyed, nor being directly connected to those who went abroad, they created their own networks. “We traded ‘zines and sent letters,” Michelle recalled. “. . . A ‘zine would arrive and you would say, ‘Aw, man, how awesome,’ and you wrote back that same week to the person, ‘Man, thanks for the ‘zine!

¹⁷⁶ “A gente trocava cartas, fitas, juntava dinheiro. Não era barato pra comprar disco. Os discos demoravam a chegar no Brasil, às vezes com 3 anos—saiu um disco na Europa, nos EUA, chegava aqui com 3 anos de atraso! ‘Ah, o novo do fulano, de tal banda . . .’—e já tinha saído há muito tempo. Quem tinha mais grana comprava os discos importados. Era um ou outro. Aí, ‘Ah, fulano vai gravar uma fita pra mim.’ Aí era isso, era o Brasil todo trocando fitas, porque era muito caro, além de não chegar quase nada em Brasília.”

In exchange, I'm sending you a 'zine of a friend of mine here in Brasília and some flyers for you to hand out in your city.'” She continued:

There were a lot of problems with the mail, because sometimes the envelope came empty. “Oooh, so-and-so’s going to send me the demo tape of such-and-such a band”—and you waited in that anticipation [an expression of excitement on her face]. When it arrived, you opened the mailbox and it was ripped. So then you were like, “Ugh, what a drag . . .”

Michelle, in the middle of reminiscing, during which time her voice was like that you might use when talking about a childhood tree house or hideaway, abruptly stopped. She looked at Alessandra, then continued, her eyes lowered over a big smile. “There was something we did a lot—I don’t know if they [i.e. other rockers] have told you about it.”

Here in Brazil, we washed stamps. Do you know what that is? It was like this: as everybody corresponded a lot, because the necessity we felt of getting stuff was so strong, we sent a card [picking up a piece of paper and miming the action], took your basic paper glue, spread it like this [on top of where the stamp would be], and wrote inside the letter: “When you get this letter, wash the stamp and reuse it, or return my stamp.” After washing and drying, the cancel mark disappeared and you could use the stamp over and over. We washed each one thousands of times. Sometimes a stamp would totally deteriorate, but we would use it anyway,

because we had no money to send letters. And we got a lot of mail, like 30 letters a week!¹⁷⁷

This anecdote symbolizes perfectly the complicity and cooperation felt and exercised among these youth in what was truly a national underground scene. Michelle gave scope to the scene and showed how the transition occurred from a literary relationship among penpals to a physical one of friends at a show. “I got to know various people: I went to shows, to São Paulo, to festivals like Monsters of Rock; one of my penpals from some place, often not even living in São Paulo, but in the interior of Minas [Gerais]—we’d meet up.” The correspondence was not always among people who lived far apart. “There were people here who had penpals within Brasília, though I never did. Like, I have a penpal who lives in Taguatinga and I live in Planaltina. And they traded tapes”¹⁷⁸ (Godinho and Tavares 2005).

Within Brasília, in the small but growing underground, relationships were not always quite so open, as people sometimes felt the need to protect their territory from the intrusion of individuals deemed unworthy of membership. “You bought a record,” said

¹⁷⁷ “[T]rocava zines, carta. . . . Chegava um zine e você: ‘Nossa, que legal!’ você escrevia na mesma semana pra pessoa. ‘Nossa, obrigada por um zine. Em troca, to te mandando um zine de um amigo aqui de Brasília e mais uns flyers pra você divulgar na sua cidade.’ . . . Tinha muito problema com correio, porque, às vezes, a carta chegava vazia. ‘Ah, fulano vai me mandar demo de tal banda,’ aí a gente ficava naquela expectativa. Quando chegava, abria a caixinha e tava rasgada. Aí era: ‘Ah, que saco!’ As pessoas faziam muito uma coisa, não sei se te falaram. Lavavam selos, aqui no Brasil, sabe como é que é? Era assim, como todo mundo tinha muito correspondente, porque a necessidade de conseguir as coisas era muito forte, mandava uma carta . . . mandava essa carta aqui, digamos que seja um selo, pegava cola normal de papel, passava aqui e dentro da carta escrevia: ‘Quando você receber essa carta, lave o selo ou então devolva meu selo.’ Depois de lavar e secar, o carimbo saía e usava mais vezes. Lavava mil vezes. Aí tinha outra coisa também que acontecia, tinha selo que já tava totalmente deteriorado. Mas usava, porque não tinha muito dinheiro pra mandar. Era muita correspondência, tipo 30 cartas por semana!”

¹⁷⁸ “Várias pessoas eu conheci: viajei pra ver shows, pra São Paulo nos festivais Monsters of Rock; tal correspondente de tal lugar, às vezes não morava nem em São Paulo, morava no interior de Minas e se encontrava. Tinha gente que tinha correspondência com pessoas daqui mesmo de Brasília. Eu nunca tive. Tenho um correspondente que mora em Taguatinga, eu moro em Planaltina . . . tipo isso. E trocava fita.”

Michelle, then as if looking in a mirror, “I bought a record! Oh man, I bought a record. And now what?’ It was something abnormal. ‘No one has it!’”

And then someone would come to you: “Will you lend me the record?” “Well, I’ll see.” “Will you make me a tape?” Then you got someone’s stereo. [To self] “I’ll give it to so-and-so, but not to what’s-her-face, because she’s not . . . *underground*. [To friend] “Look, I’ll give you a tape of my record, but if you give it to what’s-her-face, I’m never going to give you anything again.” It was as if it were gold.¹⁷⁹ (Godinho and Tavares 2005).

Worthiness turned on the perceived genuineness of someone’s dedication to the values of the underground. A quick computation of worthiness was made based on an aesthetic evaluation and a pop quiz. “People walked around with bags, with backpacks . . . full of tapes, with a walkman, and a band t-shirt. Some people would interrogate them: ‘Do you really know that band? What’s their first record called?’” If the unlucky soul failed the worthiness test, the result was likely to be: “That person wears the band’s shirt, but doesn’t know thing one. He’s a fraud [*falsário*]. I’m not going to give him my music”¹⁸⁰ (Godinho and Tavares 2005).

¹⁷⁹ “Comprava-se um disco . . . comprei o disco, aí ficava: ‘Nossa, comprei o disco e agora?’ Era uma coisa fora do sério. Ninguém tem. Aí chegava: ‘Fulano, me empresta o disco?’ ‘Ah, eu vou ver . . .’ ‘Me grava uma fita?’ Amarrava som. Pra fulana vou passar, pra siclana eu não passo, porque não é . . . *underground*. ‘Ó, eu vou passar pra você essa fita do meu disco. Se você passar pra fulana eu não te passo mais nada.’ Era como se fosse ouro mesmo.”

¹⁸⁰ As pessoas andavam com sacos, com mochilas, com sacos de fita, walkman, e uma banda na blusa. Tinha gente que interrogava: ‘Você conhece mesmo essa banda? Você tem certeza? Qual é o nome do primeiro disco?’ . . . [A]quele fulano usa a camisa da banda, mas não sabe nada. É falsário. Não vou passar som pra ele.”

Music and interpersonal connections were the two most valuable resources this community possessed. As Michelle attests, the necessity they felt for new music and being in contact with one another was “so strong” that with the music itself being so limited and hard to come by, the resources would have to be protected. Perhaps the worry was that individual and group identity depended to some degree on the restriction of access to the objects of value. Thus, tapes were a token of membership, a sonic key to the clubhouse. This concern over access to resources takes us back to the discussion on panelas. In both Michelle’s account and those of the panelas, personal contacts are essential in gaining access.

The maintenance of borders around the community of people who could partake of the music turned on both style and knowledge. As the interrogation Michelle depicted demonstrates, aesthetic identification could be insufficient for entrance to the community; knowledge was at times of even greater value. This parallels what was attested in previous chapters: 1) knowledge is essential to avail oneself of government support and private sponsorship; and 2) the scarcity of, or difficulty of access to, both kinds of knowledge (musical on the one hand, bureaucratic on the other). In my reading, social contact (social capital) grants access to knowledge (epistemological capital), whether with a friend who introduces you to a new band, or a colleague who works in the Secretary of Culture and shows you how to go about applying for monies from Arte Por

Toda Parte.¹⁸¹ Epistemological capital can then be converted into increased social capital, an instrument for (potential) further economic return.

One of the ways contacts are established and maintained is attending shows. This is true for even the ethnographer. One of the statistics I regularly noted in my field journal were the number and names of people I recognized at the shows to which I went, as well as the number and names of new contacts. For the first show at which I observed the crowd in this way my notes indicate that I recognized not a single person. In one of the final shows I attended during my research period, the number was 25—this at a show at Zoonaz, where I estimated there to be some 80 people inside and perhaps an equal number outside—the “sidewalk culture.”

Another way is through the fanzine. These homemade publications are written, illustrated, compiled, printed, distributed, and uploaded to the web in some cases, by members of the underground. They are sometimes as simple as two sheets of A4 paper with a list of shows, new releases, and demos. Others are six times that length and

include reviews of releases and demos, interviews with local musicians, essays on

¹⁸¹ What with the competition for resources and the evident feelings of proprietariness around belonging to the underground, it should not be surprising that all manner of intrigue, gossip, fights, peer pressure, and catty behavior go on, including infamous cases of ostracism, where an individual broke with friends and started a new subcircle within the underground. As Juliano referred to in the previous chapter, the underground is not as united from within as it could be, given the shared interests. Online social networks like Orkut serve occasionally as fora for the someone’s flaming; recently a fight broke out at a show because of things said on line a year earlier. Memories can be long.

In general, however, perceived threats come from beyond the borders of the underground. They are few. But they are topics of conversation and preoccupation. The two most egregious forces that worry members are the skinheads (os carecas) and the police. The former, who in the past had their headquarters in the satellite city of Candangolândia, show up randomly at shows to mark their presence, and fights do break out. From what I can tell, they are the aggressors, looking to make trouble. According to Gilmar, in the 1980s there was no issue between the skinheads and the punks and metalheads, but that at some point they began to emulate their European counterparts and “borrowed” their racist politics, which they turned against, among other people, rockers with long or spiky hair. The police on the other hand, are more often encountered walking back from a show late at night, and tales abound of random acts of brutality, even of being taken into a police vehicle and dropped off far away from home.

socially and politically important topics, original poetry, illustrations, photographs, handwritten notes, and ads for other ‘zines and underground businesses. Some are of a smaller format, like a little book. Others are online only and feature color pictures, music, and videos. Their creators do them on their free time, and thus the frequency of their publication may be irregular. Their creators are often seen handing them out at shows, in the CONIC, or in stores known to be frequented by underground rockers. They are always free. People are encouraged to read them and pass them on, even to make copies and distribute them.

They are quite numerous—at one time I counted fifteen, each with slight or pronounced differences in musical focus, appearance, and conceptual approach. Juliano’s *Fúria Urbana* (“Urban Fury”), *Elação do Poder* (“Elation of Power”), *No Class, Frozen Heart*, Felipe CDC’s *Brasília, Fina Flor do Rock* (“Brasília, Delicate Flower of Rock”) and *Death Slam*, *Acid Farted*, *Sepulcro* (Sepulcher), Amarildo’s *O Subversivo* (“The Subversive”), *Zine Oficial*, *Mensalão do Capeta* (i.e., the devil’s monthly cash-for-votes bribe), and *La Carnissa* are some. As a group they share a purpose, which is to be a voice of the community for itself. One sees friends’ names, reads interviews of known people, gets updates about bands’ progress in the studio or on the road, hears of the latest goings-on in the musical world of interest outside of Brasília.

Juliano explained what he sees as the value in ‘zines. In a conversation about the suspicion some producers feel towards governmental support, he cited independence and autonomy as two of the greatest values of the underground, and those that the fanzine helps guarantee. Speaking of the mainstream media, information, and representation, he

said, “They don’t give you autonomous space for your discourse, you know? It’s a conceded space: ‘Take it. You can speak, but in these terms.’”¹⁸²

[Independence and autonomy] mean you determine your own production and are the owner of what’s produced, without having someone directing, telling you what to do, to produce. Many of the interviews given in the *Correio Braziliense* suffer “trims,” get scissored. We say we’re against this and that, but the only thing that shows up is that the band’s been playing for more than 20 years. Then you reflect, was it worth it being in the paper? For the publicity perhaps. But the people who read the interview are going to think we play because of the “music.” But they don’t see our political position.¹⁸³ (Lopes 2005).

The fanzine was for Juliano and important vehicle to raise consciousness around an issue, to open a space for topics that the mainstream media rarely if ever address, and to direct such ideas to the underground. In this way the underground would participate in issues that extended beyond their most immediate concerns. Independence means thinking for oneself; but first one must learn to think.

Radical independence, of an isolated world and such, does not fly anymore. The great contribution of modernity has been this rapid exchange of information.

Today, many cultures have to justify themselves. For example: those where

¹⁸² “Não dão espaço autônomo pro seu discurso, sabe? É um espaço concedido: ‘Toma, você pode falar, mas nestes termos.’”

¹⁸³ “Significa você mandar na sua própria produção, e ser dono do produzido, sem ter alguém agenciando, mandando naquilo que você faz, produz. Muitas das entrevistas que são dadas ao *Correio Brasiliense* sofrem aparos, são tesouradas. A gente diz que é contra isso e aquilo, mas aí sai só que a banda tem mais de 20 anos. Daí volta a reflexão, valeu a pena estar nesse jornal? Vale a divulgação, talvez. Mas quem lê a entrevista acha que a gente toca pela ‘música’. Mas não encontra a nossa postura política.”

women have their clitoris mutilated, many women in these places have learned that in other places they don't do that, hence they begin to adopt a posture of questioning vis-à-vis that practice. But one can't go so far as total relativism, whereby since everything is relative, there's no room for questioning.¹⁸⁴

He expressed deep concern that raising these kinds of issues in 'zines and song would cause conflict with the sources for funding that he and others had contemplated approaching, such as the local government. "To this end, I have been trying to call show organizers together to discuss [financial] assistance. Now more than ever, since the public is vanishing from the shows. But will we have to soften our discourse just to get a public?"¹⁸⁵ (Lopes 2005).

The importance of differentiating between "playing because of the 'music'" and playing for a social and political cause is shared by many in the underground, which is why vocalists (a term some prefer to "singer") frequently break between songs to explain the meaning of otherwise unintelligible lyrics. This literal bracketing of songs by speech goes beyond mere explanation; it is a framing of songs within an educative context.

Fellipe CDC pointed to this practice as one of the principal differences between pop and underground bands. The latter "explain the 'why' of the lyrics and why they're on stage

¹⁸⁴ "[A] independência radical, de um mundo isolado e tal, não rola mais. A grande contribuição da modernidade foi essa troca rápida de informações. Hoje muitas culturas têm de se justificar. Por exemplo: aquelas onde as mulheres têm o clitóris mutilado, muitas mulheres nestes locais tomaram conhecimento que em outros lugares não se faz isso, logo, tomando uma postura de questionamento frente à tal acontecimento. Mas não pode se chegar ao relativismo total, onde por ser tudo relativo não caiba mais questionamento."

¹⁸⁵ "Nesse sentido, tenho procurado chamar organizadores/as para sentar e discutir esses 'apoios'. Ainda mais agora que o público tem sumido dos xous. Será que vamos ter que amaciar o discurso para captação de público?"

playing. They explain that it's not exclusively because of the music"¹⁸⁶ (Sant'anna 2005).

An example of issue-oriented lyrics preceded by a spoken explanation is Gilmar's "9" (nine minutes). In practice Gilmar varies the introduction, and what is transcribed here is its full version.

Spoken: Every nine minutes somewhere in the world a youth commits suicide.
Most of the time they come from the upper classes, study in the best and most expensive schools. They don't live the problems of the world's young people. They don't lack money, entertainment, drugs. Sex is easy, abundant and irresponsible. What's the reason for such contempt for existence? What's lacking in their lives? Why suicide? How can we comprehend the paradox of the courage/cowardice duality?¹⁸⁷

Sung: [verse] Sociedade do desprezo, vivendo de aparências
Society of disrespect, living on appearances
Esmague seu oponente, mesmo que ele nem te conheça
Crush your opponent, even if you don't know him
A raça humana mais uma vez perde uma grande chance
The human race, once again, misses a great chance
De praticar a bondade. A maldade dá mais emoção?
To practice goodness. Does wickedness excite more?

[refrain] Na era de aquário¹⁸⁸, morrendo de sede!

In the age of Aquarius, dying of thirst!

[verse] Vidas desprezadas sem razão!

Lives despised for no reason!

¹⁸⁶ "explicam o porquê da letra e o porquê delas estarem ali no palco também tocando, explicam que não é só pela música, exclusivamente."

¹⁸⁷ "A cada nove minutos um jovem sucida no mundo. Na maioria das vezes pretendem a altas classes sociais, estudam nos melhores e mais caras escolas; não vivem os problemas da população jovem mundial. Não faltam dinheiro, diversão, drogas. O sexo é fácil, abundante e irresponsável. Qual a razão por tanto desprezo pela existência? O que está faltando em suas vidas" Por quê o suicídio? Como compreender o paradoxo da dualidade coragem/covardia?"

¹⁸⁸ This is pun, as it means both aquarium and Aquarius.

Qual a lição aprendida?
What's the lesson learned?
Quem vai apertar o botão?
Who's going to press the button?
Eu, você, ou nossos herdeiros
I, you or our heirs
Extintos por alguma razão?
Extinct for some reason?
[refrain] Fracasso existencialista!
Existentialist failure!
[repeat all]

The commitment to issues is not universal among underground bands, but to call it “common” to stand for something would verge on understatement. Some bands’ very *raison d’être* is a certain issue. ARD began as an anti-war band, while xLinha de Frentex and other straight-edge bands preach animal liberation. Some subgenres, like straight-edge hardcore and crustcore, are to a high degree characterized either by particular issues, or by a general politicization of lyrics. But most bands do not adhere to a single cause or maintain an explicitly political posture. Valhalla (see track 14 of the CD) approaches less the letter of the issue in their lyrics and more the concept. Michelle explained: “In Valhalla we work in a vein that lately has been more . . . more current, not political, but about man. Man and religion, man and people. More along those lines, anthropocentrism, more in that direction. We try to send a more constructive message, more ‘open your mind, [there’s] something better.’” Alessandra then added that they also work to encourage women to participate as musicians in the scene. In 1989, when the band

formed, female metal fans were almost non-existent. “Before it was just working class guys who liked hard music. . . . These days there’s a lot of women. I think they mirror themselves [in us], they start to play, start to want to put a band together.” Speaking of women’s participation, she continued: “It’s growing, isn’t it? I think it’s growing because of the quantity of women in all areas is growing . . . in the sciences, in medicine, in administration.” Though having a band is difficult for anyone, she pointed out that it is harder for women.

Because of family pressure, and for being a woman and having an attitude a little more masculine, because that’s how it is. For you to keep the respect, unfortunately, you have to act like a man to get a man’s respect, right Michelle? You have to be more aggressive. . . . And [you have] to tolerate a lot, because people think that because you’re a woman, you have to be a sex symbol, and that ends up extrapolating to the relationship [between performer and public].¹⁸⁹

Michelle theorized as to why the aggressive style of the music pushed many women musicians away: “[T]hey think they’ll become ugly. That the music is ugly and will make other things harder to achieve. If you play drums, your arms will get big and strong,

¹⁸⁹ Michelle: “Na Valhalla a gente trabalha numa linha mais assim, ultimamente, numa linha mais atual, não política, mas do homem. O homem e a religião, o homem e as pessoas. Mais por esse lado, o antropocentrismo, mais por esse lado. A gente tenta passar uma mensagem mais construtiva, mais ‘abra sua mente, uma coisa melhor’.”

Alessandra: “[A]ntes era só homem, de classe baixa e que gostava só de som porrada. . . . Hoje em dia tem bastante mulher, acho que se espelham um pouco, começam a tocar, começam a querer montar uma banda.” Alessandra: “É, tá crescendo, né? Eu acho que tá crescendo por conta de tá crescendo a quantidade de mulheres em todas as áreas . . . na ciência, na medicina, na administração. . . . Por conta de pressão da família por ser mulher e ter uma atitude um pouco mais masculina . . . porque é. Pra você manter o respeito, infelizmente, você tem que parecer homem pra poder ter o respeito do homem, né, Michelle? Tem que ser mais agressivo. . . . E de aguentar muita coisa mesmo, porque o pessoal acha que ser mulher, você tem que ser símbolo sexual e aí acaba extrapolando na relação que tem com a pessoa.”

carrying the stuff, you'll break a nail, get it?" Alessandra agreed: "I think it's a prejudice inculcated in women's heads, you know?" Michelle continued: "That you're fragile."

Alessandra:

That which is different, that which "flees the pattern," is generally excluded. I think the fear of exclusion makes women adhere to the pattern, that *machismo* itself makes them adhere. Many admit, "Oh, I'd like to have your courage," but in truth it's not courage. It's your acceptance of that which you really want to do, what you like.¹⁹⁰

This qualitative difference explains why Valhalla do not call themselves a feminist band, or take up feminism as an issue.

The only thing we wanted to do was to be side by side, do the same things, [with others'] respecting the fact that we are women, and [our] respecting men. The physical difference is visible, but jeez, I can do the same stuff, so let's walk together. Nobody is better than anyone else.

She recognized that they had had it harder than women in today's bands. "The vanguard, those there first, they suffer most, because they are there with their chest open to the

¹⁹⁰ Michelle: [A]cham que vão ficar feias . . . Que é muito feio, que vão afastar outras coisas . . . De repente, se tocar bateria, vai ficar com o braço forte, carregar as coisas vai quebrar sua unha, entende?"

Alessandra: Eu acho que é um preconceito incutido na cabeça das mulheres mesmo, entendeu?

Michelle: Que você é frágil.

Alessandra: Porque o diferente, o que foge do padrão, geralmente é excluído. E eu acho que o medo da exclusão faz com que elas fiquem no padrão mesmo, que o próprio machismo faz com que elas fiquem. Muitas admitem, 'Ah, eu queria ter essa coragem', mas, na verdade, não é coragem. É só você assumir o que você quer fazer, o que você gosta.

bullets. Lots of bullets”¹⁹¹ (Godinho and Tavares 2005). No band active at the moment claimed to be a feminist band, though some songs talked of equality, or condemned discrimination and sexism. We counted 13 bands, at least half of whose members were women.

Acceptance without compromise—musically or personally—seems to be what everyone I spoke to in the underground wished for. After all, it is a human right, some argued. Others saw it as a constitutional right. But it was universally recognized that inequality in society was pervasive. A number of musicians in the underground worked to change that, within and beyond the musical arena. But for all of them, there was absolute continuity between their work as musicians and their social activities.

Social Action

Three examples of social involvement that I shall now present fall each within a category based upon the degree of music’s role. Public recognition is limited and accolades rare. Their efforts are rewarded by the appreciation they receive from those with whom they work and their own sense of contribution.

The example of first category, in which music is involved on multiple levels, is Fellipe CDC’s anthology of local bands on cassette tape called *Consciência Underground* and series of three CDs called *Attitude*. In the first case, proceeds went to a variety of eleemosynary institutions, including homes for indigent elderly, halfway houses, and

¹⁹¹ A única coisa que a gente queria era fazer, estar lado a lado, fazer igual, respeitando que a gente é mulher e respeitando que é homem. A diferença física é visível, a gente sabe das diferenças, só que, pô, eu também tenho capacidade de fazer e vamos caminhar juntos. Ninguém é melhor do que ninguém. . . . E quem é vanguarda, quem tá lá, os primeiros, são os que sofrem mais, porque tão ali com o peito aberto pra receber as balas! Muitas balas.”

orphanages. Some of the sponsors of the project donated non-perishable food items. “In particular I like to work with orphanages, because there’s a group of young people who are going to be our future, so we have to do what we can so that this future is strong and without prejudice, right?” Within the series *Attitude* 1, 2, and 3, each disc had a different theme; bands were chosen from Brasília and beyond for their commitment to the theme, though the songs chosen did not necessarily address it. Proceeds again went to institutions. Number one’s theme could not be identified (not even Felipe remembered, and we could not locate a copy); number two treated the subject of respect between elderly and youth; the third addressed the issues of racial discrimination. “I always organize the CD around a certain specific theme. It’s a form for the underground to show itself to be active and participating within a social context. . . . With rock we try to open the minds of people in the rock community so that they contaminate, in a good way, the people outside”¹⁹² (Sant’anna 2005a). Felipe invites bands to contribute musical material, organizes the CD’s production, distributes it, sells it, and reverts the funds to the chosen organizations.

Category two’s example is the work of João Meia-Boca and his colleagues at the ICP, the Instituto Comunitário Participativo (“Community Participative Institute”).

Music-making is one of the activities in a sphere of social work largely extra-musical.

Music also plays an inspirational or “ideological” role, in the words of one of the

¹⁹² “Eu, particularmente, gosto de trabalhar com orfanato, porque é uma molecada que vai ser o nosso futuro, então a gente tem que deixar que esse futuro seja forte e sem preconceito, né? . . . Então sempre eu trabalho o CD com algum tema específico. É uma forma do underground se mostrar ativo e participativo, dentro do contexto social. . . . Dentro do rock a gente tenta abrir essa mente desse pessoal que tá no rock pra que eles de repente contaminem, uma contaminação do bem, as pessoas que estão do lado e que não são pertencentes ao rock.”

speakers. The ICP is a not-for-profit organization located in Taguatinga, in the neighborhood known as QNL or “L North,” and, according to João, “the neighborhood with the highest rate of theft from residences, businesses, and cars. The highest rate of apprehension of drugs and the arrests of drug users is in L North. So it’s the neighborhood with the highest occurrence rate of penal infractions in Taguatinga”¹⁹³ (Meia-Boca and Meirelles 2005). The ICP serves the local population and that of other satellite cities nearby, such as Samambáia, Recanto das Emas, and Ceilândia. It is part of a consortium of 24 NGOs called Consórcio Brasília that serve Brasília and the Entorno. Funding comes mostly, if not exclusively, from the federal government, such as the Ministries of Culture, of Sport, and of the Environment.

João Meia-Boca is a fireman and leads the Meia-Boca Band. In his words, helping was always part of the fireman’s job. “I worked in a ‘tyke brigade,’ we worked with children, with the elderly, and I had a band. So, I just assimilated the two.” He is involved both as coordinator and musician in several music projects through the ICP, including working with people who are HIV-positive, and at a psychiatric hospital. Below he explains his work with ICP. He began by speaking about the free music classes he coordinates at the NGO’s headquarters in L North.

There’s no acoustic insulation there, and people work, so I can’t make noise before 6 PM, otherwise it bothers people. So the people who would come during the day [to take lessons] don’t come. So we’re struggling to set up a rehearsal

¹⁹³ “É o bairro onde tem o maior índice de furtos de residência, de comércio e de carro. O maior índice de apreensão de drogas e de consumidores é na L Norte. Então aqui é um bairro onde tem o maior índice de ocorrências dentro de Taguatinga em infrações penais.”

studio, because the bands are noisy, the kids . . . well, everybody is—it's a punk thing, the DIY approach. The kids, they come there, break drum sticks, rip the heads. I think it's great—they're there with us, they're doing it. It's just that I can't provide the conditions whereby it could go on all day. For now. We'll get it. . . . [Recanto das Emas] is where the farmhouse [*chácara*] that takes care of those with HIV is situated. There's 150 people, children, adolescents, and adults. The farmhouse was donated by the government, but it's not run by them . . . they help with the more expensive drugs. The band plays and when the money is all right we give it to them. Three hundred [reals] is enough to buy a lot of disposable diapers, which they need plenty of. There are terminal patients, children. They need paracetamol, they need everything.¹⁹⁴ (Meia-Boca and Meirelles 2005).

One of João's colleagues is his childhood friend from the neighborhood, Meirelles, a captain in the Military Police. His main function with the ICP is to procure resources, including transportation, instruments, and donations in all forms. He is not a musician. But, as he explains below, rock music is in part responsible for his volunteer

¹⁹⁴ Trabalhei numa brigada mirinho, a gente trabalhava com criança, trabalhava com idosos, e aí eu tinha a banda. Então . . . só assimilei aquilo pra banda. . . . Não tem isolamento, aí o pessoal trabalha. Então não posso fazer som ali antes das 6 horas da tarde porque senão atrapalha. Então, quer dizer, aquele público que viria durante o dia, não vem. Então a gente tá lutando pra gente fazer um esquema legal de estúdio pra ensaio mesmo, que as bandas daqui são barulhentas mesmo, os moleques são . . . a princípio todo mundo é, acredito que seja um esquema bem punk mesmo, aquele lance de fazer mesmo. Os moleques vêm aí, quebra baqueta, quebra, rasga as peles. Acho legal, tá aí com a gente, tá fazendo. Só que eu não posso dar condições pra que isso aconteça o dia todo. Por enquanto. A gente vai conseguir . . . É onde funciona a chácara que cuida de soro-positivo. São 150 pessoas, crianças, adolescentes e adultos também, a chácara foi cedida pelo governo mas não é uma organização do governo . . . o governo ajuda com os remédios mais caros. . . . Com soro-positivo a gente toca e quando a grana é legal a gente reverte essa grana pra eles. 300, dá pra comprar aí muita fralda descartável que eles precisam bastante. Lá tem paciente terminal, tem criança, eles precisam de paracetamol, eles precisam de tudo.”

work. He names two rock bands, O Rappa and Legião Urbana, and the singer Cazuza, who before he died of AIDS in 1990 fronted Barão Vermelho.

Yesterday [João and I] were at my place watching the new DVD of O Rappa that just came out and were talking, then we saw one about the 1980s, and we were saying, “We lived that.” Our thing was to go out at night, get ten people together and go hear music There used to be an ideology. We listened to a song by Cazuza, by Legião Urbana, we took the good they had to offer and applied it to our lives. Today, no—things have changed a lot and kids and adolescents don’t have a path, a destination. There’s no social project—and this is what the NGO provides. It takes these kids getting mixed up with drugs and gives them guitar lessons. . . . So that is the ideal. I do my rounds, some days I command night operations, and it’s hard for me to go through the region where I grew up, where I lived, and see a group of adolescents drugging themselves, get it? Armed, taking drugs, committing crimes, being imprisoned. For me, as a policeman, that moves me. Because my function isn’t repressive. I have a commitment to society. As a policeman, as a commander, do you see? So my concern is to see these teenagers taking music lessons, or chess lessons. . . . Where the State fails to act, or leaves lacunae, or leaves things precarious, that’s where [the ICP] comes in. Because we have a philosophy for life. If the young person doesn’t find what we had back then, which was music, sports, walking the streets at night freely with no problems, he’s going to go astray. . . . [T]he heart of this, of the organization, is

that we're a bunch of friends here from this region with a social commitment.¹⁹⁵

(Meia-Boca and Meirelles 2005).

The ICP works with approximately 600 youth, according to its director. It has a link with an evangelical church, although this was not part of the ICP's concept. Instead, a local minister needed a place to offer services and was invited by the director. The consortium's funding diminished from R\$87,000 in 2004 to R\$52,000 in 2005, but the ICP managed to keep its activities going. João and the music instructors worked as volunteers, though students pitched in to remunerate the instructors when possible. "I would like to see everyone have access to music. . . . And it must stay free. Wasn't it Luther King who said, 'I have a dream?' Well, I have one too." Referring to the fact that the Pilot Plan has the School of Music,

[The State] needs to know that there are people here who want to study but who don't have the means to go to the Pilot Plan, because it's expensive. Go three times a week to the Pilot Plan for R\$2.50 each way, that's R\$15. And so just for

¹⁹⁵ "Ontem a gente tava lá em casa vendo um DVD novo do Rappa que saiu e comentando, depois a gente viu dos anos 80 e falando 'Pô, a gente curti isso'. A gente tinha aquele barato de sair daqui à noite, juntar 10 pessoas e curtir a música. . . . Tinha ideologia, a gente escutava uma música do Cazuza, escutava uma música do Legião Urbana e a gente pegava aquilo que eles tinham de bom e a gente aplicava na nossa vida. Hoje não, hoje as coisas mudaram demais e a criança e o adolescente não tem um destino, não tem um rumo. Não tem um projeto social—e isso aí é que a ONG proporciona entendeu? É pegar esses moleques que tão se envolvendo com a droga e trazer pra pegar uma aula de violão. . . . Então é esse o ideal. Eu faço ronda, tem dia que eu comando operações à noite, é complicado pra mim passar numa região que eu morei, que eu vivi, um grupo de adolescentes aqui se entregando, entendeu? Armados, se entregando, fazendo . . . praticando crimes, sendo preso. Pra mim, como policial, isso me toca, entendeu? Que a minha função não é repressiva. Eu tenho um compromisso com a sociedade. Por ser policial, ser o comandante, você entendeu? Então a minha preocupação é essa, de ver essa garotada que tá aqui fazendo aí uma aula de música, fazendo um xadrez. . . . Onde o Estado não faz a parte dele, que deveria fazer, ou se faz com lacuna, com precariedade, entra a gente. Porque tem uma ideologia de vida. Se o jovem não acha o que a gente achava na nossa época, que era a música, que era um esporte, que era você andar livre na rua, sem problema, ele vai se marginalizar também. . . . [O] coração dessa, da organização, é que são muitos amigos aqui, da nossa região aqui que se interessam por isso, esse interesse pelo comprometimento social."

transportation, if you don't have a concert to give, you're going to spend R\$60 [per month]. For a guy who's unemployed? For an adolescent with no job? My dream, man, is to have a music school here.¹⁹⁶ (Meia-Boca and Meirelles 2005).

The final example is Gilmar Santos's activities, most of which bear no direct relation to music. He recently spent nearly two years unemployed, but maintained his volunteer activities, while taking night classes, playing in ARD (and, after the interviews were conducted, in X-GRANITO), and looking for a job. He now works in the Brasiliense office of Junior Achievement, charged with the task of opening a branch in Gama. Below, Gilmar discusses three activities: from working as a biology teacher, to organizing social programs for youth, to volunteering with Partners of the Americas. Throughout he relates his music to his social activities. At the end he discusses the very personal history behind the philosophy that both led to the creation of ARD and his dedication to social programs.

There was a time when I began to teach middle school biology in the Educational Foundation. And within everything I taught in biology I tried to introduce a social issue, "You can do it, you live in a satellite city, you have no money, but you have the power in your mind." Suddenly, I was able to transfer from the stage to the classroom . . . my need for deeper communication. That was when I began to

¹⁹⁶ "Eu gostaria de ver todo mundo ter acesso à música. . . . Eu faço questão que seja de graça. Porque não tem o Luther King que fala 'Eu tenho um sonho'? Eu também tenho um sonho. . . . Eu só quero que eles saibam que aqui tem gente que quer estudar, e que não tem condição de ir pro Plano, porque sai caro. Você vai 3 vezes por semana ao Plano, por R\$2,50 a passagem, são R\$5,00 . . . dá R\$15,00. Então só de passagem aí, se você não tiver nenhum concerto pra apresentar, você vai gastar R\$60,00. Pra um cara desempregado? Adolescente, que não tem emprego? Então o meu sonho, bicho, era que tivesse uma escola de música aqui."

work with social projects . . . with a group called Youth Leadership. . . . I joined a social program of Caixa Seguros [part of a government bank] that worked with underserved communities, called “Get with it, gang!” . . . to do the same social insertion activities I had been doing alongside teaching biology. I would say . . . “I want to take the kids to spend a day getting to know Congress,” and they funded transportation and food, and we took the media. I coordinated a school in P North [Ceilândia]. . . . I [brought in] a guy who taught [how to mix and scratch], a DJ teacher, a guy who taught capoeira, a guy who taught origami. . . . And I gave chess and citizenship lessons. Starting with the principle that chess is a game to a certain degree of the elite, I taught chess’s important values, which are respect for your neighbor, sincerity, honesty. You can’t cheat in chess—if your friend leaves the room to get a drink of water or go to the bathroom, you can’t touch the pieces, right? I taught humility, for example, to lose and to shake your opponent’s hand and say, “Hey, congratulations, you won.” . . . [F]or four years we organized an event called the Peace Games. The schools got together to compete in capoeira, chess, rap, singing—and there were normal team games, like volleyball, basketball, soccer, indoor soccer, table-tennis.

Gilmar had organized the 2001 Peace Games to begin on September 21. The media and the American embassy in Brasília were going to be involved in the opening ceremonies, and the youth were scheduled to go to the US. The attacks of 9/11 changed the Games’ direction, as the trip was cancelled, but Gilmar and the youth performed a memorial ceremony to the victims on embassy grounds.

In the NGO [Partners of the Americas] where I am a volunteer, we have a program called “Character Counts,” and I give lectures from [the Catholic University of Brasília] to the school in Varjão [the poorest RA] on the values we must develop today, values of character. . . . [S]o, to see that it’s possible, that I’ve managed to connect the social program in the NGO that I represented with my yearnings in ARD to bring peace to the world, you know?

He spoke in general of his opposition to violence. It was a gradual philosophical and ideological orientation, a passage through various stages of social and political development. A beating at the hands of a bouncer at a show instigated seven years of tae kwan do training; 15 medals and many knockouts of his peers provoked a pacifist transformation: “there’s no logic in beating up your equal—what nonsense is this?” He managed to avoid army service, due to excessive applicants for his assignment. “I was going to serve in the worst barracks in Brasília, the 32 GAC, or Artillery and Combat Group. Those guys camp out for a whole year, just practicing battle techniques. A guy leaves there a warrior, capable of killing his own mother.” Six months after receiving dispensation, he was nearly recalled, for four trainees had died. “Two shot themselves in the mouth, one hanged himself, and one drowned. Eighteen-year-olds who couldn’t stand it.” He saw, however, that his present anti-war stance and social commitment to the teaching of ethics and citizenship stemmed from a much earlier incident he lived through when still a child.

I lived in Maranhão, in the northeast of Brazil, and my father had a neighbor who was always trying to start something, you know? And my dad had a gun in the house, a .38 I think, but I was just a kid [*pivete*]. And one day this guy got drunk and came to the house insulting my father, talking shit about my mother and other stuff, and my father grabbed the gun and stood there with it in his hand, and the guy called my dad a coward, “You’re not going to shoot, you pile of shit.” He humiliated him. My dad took the gun, and I was hugging his leg, crying, and my mother had her arms around him from behind, and my dad with the gun. He took the gun and looked at the guy and said, “Man, I don’t want this anymore,” and threw it away. He didn’t use the gun. He was an incredible man to act like that. . . . So what is it that I believe? I think it has to do with this issue of representing the values that I believe in and defend, you know? I think it’s fucked selling drugs to children, I think it’s fucked exploiting children sexually, I think it’s fucked stealing public money, I think it’s fucked people killing themselves. So, I could be talking [i.e. singing] about butterflies, about Amazônia, about flowers. I could But what I’ve been trying to do is exactly this: align my activities as a volunteer with the idea of realizing my dreams through the music of ARD. We live for this, but not from it, you know? ARD is a way for us to manifest. And it’s worked, because these days I’m hooked in—what I can’t get across to the audience at my shows, I can do through the lectures on values, on ethics.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ Teve um momento em que eu comecei a dar aula na Fundação Educacional, como professor de biologia, pra alunos de quinta série até nível médio. E todas as coisas que eu ensinava de biologia, eu tentava introduzir uma questão social, do tipo “olha, você consegue, você mora em satélite, você não tem grana,

These two aspects of his life are intertwined like a double helix, working together for a single purpose: social change. He summarized everything this way: “If one day a guy

mas você tem o poder na sua mente”. Então assim, de repente eu consegui transferir do palco . . . essa minha carência de comunicação mais profunda com o público numa sala de aula. Aí eu comecei a trabalhar com projetos sociais . . . que chamava Liderança Juvenil. . . . Entrei num programa social da Caixa Seguros que era um programa que trabalhava com comunidades carentes, chamava “Se Liga, Galera!” pra fazer coisas que eu tava fazendo paralelo às aulas de biologia, que era inserção social. . . . Falava . . . “Eu quero levar os meninos pra ficar um dia no Congresso conhecendo”, a Caixa Seguros bancava ônibus, alimentação, a gente conseguia levar mídia pra lá. Então eu coordenava uma escola no Setor P Norte Eu tinha um cara que dava música . . . dava . . . ensinava a cantar, rap, um cara que ensinava a usar as picapes, um professor de DJ, um cara que ensinava a dançar capoeira, um cara que ensinava origami. . . . E eu dava aula de xadrez e de cidadania. Partindo do princípio que o xadrez é um jogo meio de elite, então eu ensinava os valores muito forte do xadrez, que é respeito ao próximo, sinceridade, honestidade. Você não pode trapacear no xadrez—se seu amigo sai pra tomar um copo d’água ou ir ao banheiro você não pode mover as peças, né? Então ensinava, por exemplo, humildade, você perder e pegar na mão do cara, “pô, parabéns, você ganhou”. . . . [D]urante quatro anos a gente organizou um chamado “Jogos da Paz”. . . . Essas escolas se reuniam lá e disputavam esses jogos, que era capoeira, xadrez, música rap, quem cantava melhor—e aí tinha jogos normais, de equipe, vôlei, basquete, futebol de campo, futebol de salão, tênis de mesa . . . [S]obre a ONG que eu sou voluntário, que a gente tem um programa que chama “O caráter conta”, que eu dou palestras, sei lá, da Católica até a escola do Varjão, eu vou lá e dou uma palestra com slides, com transparências, com dinâmica de grupo, sobre quais são os valores que a gente tem que cultivar hoje, os valores do caráter. . . . [P]ra ver o poder, que eu consegui aliar o meu programa social, com a ONG que eu tava representando, com os meus anseios de ARD, de trazer pacificação pro mundo, né? . . . Eu ia servir no pior quartel de Brasília, que chama 32 GAC, que é Grupamento de Artilharia e Combate. Os caras acampam o ano inteiro, só fazendo técnicas de guerra. O cara sai de lá um guerrilheiro, assim, capaz de matar até a mãe. . . . Dois atiraram na boca, um se enforcou e outro morreu afogado. Jovens de 18 anos, que não agüentaram. . . . Eu morava no Maranhão, nordeste do Brasil, e meu pai tinha um vizinho que sempre implicava com ele, né? E meu pai tinha uma arma em casa, meu pai tinha um 38, acho, só que eu era um pivete. E um dia esse cara bebeu e chegou xingando meu pai, falando mal da minha mãe, não sei o quê, e meu pai pegou a arma e ficou com a arma na mão e o cara chamando ele de covarde, ‘Você não vai atirar, seu escroto’, humilhou meu pai. Meu pai pegou a arma e ficou assim, e eu tava abraçado na perna dele, chorando, e minha mãe abraçada nele, por trás, e meu pai com uma arma. Meu pai pegou a arma assim, olhou pro cara, e falou assim, ‘Cara, eu nunca mais quero isso’, e jogou a arma fora. Não usou a arma. Foi extremamente homem pra tomar aquela atitude. . . . Agora, o que é isso que eu acredito, eu acho que tem a ver com essa questão de mostrar os valores que eu acredito e que eu defendo, sabe? Realmente eu acho uma merda vender droga pra crianças, acho uma merda explorar sexualidade de crianças, acho uma merda roubar dinheiro do povo, acho uma merda as pessoas se matarem. Então assim, eu poderia estar falando de borboletas, de Amazônia, de flores? Poderia. . . . Então . . . o que eu tenho tentado fazer é exatamente isso, aliar as minhas atividades de voluntário com o pensamento de materialização dos meus sonhos com a música do ARD.

A gente vive pra isso, mas a gente não vive disso, né? ARD é uma maneira da gente se manifestar, que pra mim tem dado certo porque hoje eu tenho um gancho muito legal que eu não consegui atingir no público dos shows, que eu consigo atingir numa palestra que eu dou, sobre valores, sobre ética.”

comes up to me and says, ‘Man, my life changed because I heard ARD,’ —man, I’ll be happy”¹⁹⁸ (Santos 2005a).

Dark Matter: Emotion

Of all aspects of the musical experience, emotion is the most difficult to speak about. As music in general fights verbal expression, emotion fends off semantic containment while lurking in messier, extra-discursive expanses. It is the darkest of the dark matter. As challenging as its utterance may be, the registering of emotion is quite simple: musicians feel it when they play, fans feel it when they listen and dance. Anyone going near a *roda de pogo* or listening to a few seconds of hardcore music or watching a punk vocalist perform will (unless their limbic system is non-functioning) sense an emotional expression and register their own emotional reactions.¹⁹⁹

Emotion has been a subject of this dissertation, even without its being directly addressed. In the previous vignettes it surfaced: the *furious face of cosmopolitanism* looked at rage in music and its power to create community, and the *roda de pogo* described at the Khallice show is a gestural display of emotional interaction with the music. Thus, we have already witnessed semiotic representations of emotion, from the verbal to the semantic and the corporal. In this final section on Place as Presence I shall relate the emotional experiences of underground rockers—the most personal layer of dark matter—to the ongoing discussion of the construction of *place*. It is here that the idea of

¹⁹⁸ “Se um dia chegar um cara e falar assim, “cara, a minha vida mudou porque eu ouvi o ARD”, tô feliz, cara.”

¹⁹⁹ Joey Ramone singing “Now I guess I’ll have to tell ‘em/That I got no cerebellum/Gonna get my Ph.D./I’m a teenage lobotomy!” comes to mind.

people as agents in place's constitution and definition approaches perhaps its subtlest and most subjective terrain: the topos of affect.

I began this chapter proposing that rockers' agency in constructing place was observable in their presence and actions, and that these, in turn, could be perceived through their deeply held commitment to the underground scene. The ways that rockers show their emotional commitment is at times quite direct, other times less so. But what remains clear throughout is how important the underground is for the guarantee it gives them of a place to express themselves. How much they are willing to sacrifice for its continuation is a measure of this. Rockers' comments in Chapter 2 about the danger the scene is in will make more sense now, as their concern is contextualized by the value the scene holds for them and by their commitment to its survival.

The negative economy depicted in the section "Aesthetics" above, where producers lose money, musicians play for free, and the scene depends on a high level of brodagem, reveals an economy where value also has emotional basis. The comments below reinforce this interpretation, as musicians themselves suggest that what they put in and retrieve from the experience can be described in emotional terms.

One way of approaching emotional involvement is to reflect on phenomenological aspects of musicking. Felipe CDC characterized the effect hardcore has on him this way: "My blood boils. It was love at first hearing." He called the guitar the "powdered guaraná" in rock, referring to the Amazonian berry with natural stimulant properties. "It makes you feel electric, enthused." He called music-making "the oxygen to continue living" when fulfillment in the rest of life is lacking. "The system doesn't give you many

options. It's work, work, work, then spend a day with your family and drink. But with music you can dream, a fact that is forgotten"²⁰⁰ (2005b).

Jôsefer and Jeferson described the experience of playing:

Jôsefer: When you're getting to the middle of the set list, it's almost like being stoned to death [*pedrada*, "a stoning"]. Depending on the venue. Jeferson almost fainted once. I came close. Because, man, sometimes we play in closed places and playing drums, for those who play really fast, man, you gotta breathe and sometimes there's no air, get it? The energy that you get when playing, the adrenaline like, it takes away your air, get it? So you start wanting to breathe even more and there's even less air. My head, I thought it was going to explode, but the dudes [i.e. his bandmates] were saying there was time to do one more, and I said, "No, I can't take anymore!" It's fucked! I was loopy. It's like a resistance thing, man.

Jeferson: You have to give more of yourself, know what I mean? For me, metal and hardcore drummers have to be stressed just to play.

Jôsefer: They have to be stressed.

Jeferson: A calm guy doesn't play, because the thing is, the kind of music we play takes a lot out of you. You totally use yourself up yourself playing. It's something where you *have* to give yourself, get it? It's something where there has to be

²⁰⁰ "O sangue ferve. Foi amor à primeira ouvida. Te faz sentir elétrico, entusiasmado. . . . O sistema não dá muitas opções—trabalha trabalha trabalha, passa um dia com a família e bebe—mas com música pode sonhar, que é um fato esquecido."

personal surrender [*entrega pessoal*], you have to forget about all the pain you're feeling, the headache you have—

Jôsefer: —the personal problems—

Jeferson: —it's a moment you have in life, and suddenly the next day you won't be able to have anymore. . . . The way I see it, it's a very spiritual thing, at least for me. It's a total surrender thing.²⁰¹ (Ayres Cunha and Ayres Cunha 2005).

They talked about the frustration of seeing a drummer “asleep” at the drums, conserving energy by playing with a light touch, thereby making it necessary to turn up the amplifiers.

Jôsefer: Dude, that kills us, because, man, that there, the thing about metal and hardcore is—

Jeferson: —that's the essence there!

Jôsefer: It's something where you have to have that *anger* thing, know what I mean? Release the stress—

²⁰¹ Josefer: “Quando a gente vai chegando no meio do set list assim, é meio que pedrada.. Dependendo do local. O Jeferson já desmaiou. Eu já passei perto. Porque às vezes cara, a gente toca nuns lugares muito fechados e tocar batera pra quem toca rápido cara, você precisa respirar e às vezes não tem ar, sacou? A energia que dá na hora de você tocar . . . a adrenalina tipo, te tira o ar sacou? . . . Então você fica mais querendo respirar e tinha menos ar ainda. A minha cabeça eu pensei que ia estourar, nêgo falou cabe mais uma, e eu falei não cara, eu não agüento mais. É foda! eu tava meio abobalhado, é tipo isso cara, o lance da resistência.”

Jeferson: “Você tem que ter uma entrega maior, entendeu? Um baterista de metal pra mim e de hardcore tocar tem que ser estressado.”

Josefer: “Tem que ser estressado.”

Jeferson: “Um cara calmo não toca, porque é um lance que te toma muito o tipo de som que a gente toca. Você desgasta demais tocando, é uma coisa que você tem que se entregar, sacou? É uma coisa que tem que haver uma entrega pessoal, você tem que deixar todas as dores que você está sentindo, a dor de cabeça que você está sentindo—”

Josefer: “—os problemas pessoais—”

Jeferson: “—aquele é um momento que você vai ter na vida e de repente no outro dia, você não vai poder ter mais. . . . Eu vejo assim, um lance muito espiritual, pelo menos pra mim. É um lance assim de muita entrega.”

Jeferson: —like, people who are into hardcore, who play, who have a band, the dude has got to have—

Jôsefer: —to have *feeling*, man—

Jeferson: —has to surrender to it, you know? If you're doing that [i.e. making metal/hardcore/punk], it's because you like it, it's because you *love* it, see? You have to like it—there's no use doing it for money, you don't need to think about that, you won't ever do well—do the thing because you like it . . . I dated this girl once who said, “You have one giant flaw.” I go: “What is it?” “You always see the emotional side of things. You forget the rational side easily.” But it's because for me, it's always the emotional side that's always pulled on me more. It's where I've always drawn my strength from.

Jôsefer: Good thing he doesn't play emocore. [Laughter].²⁰²

Emocore, a contraction of “emotional hardcore” is a substyle of hardcore characterized by male vocalists singing catchy, often major-chord melodies in whining voices about their girlfriends, heartbreak, etc. Like *hardcore melódico* [“melodic hardcore”], a related substyle, it is looked on with derision by fans and musicians of the rougher [*mais tosco*]

²⁰² Jôsefer: “Cara. isso mata a gente . . . porque ali cara, aquela parada do metal e hardcore pra você cara—”

Jeferson: “—é a essência ali!”

Jôsefer: “é uma lance cara, você tem que ter aquele lance da raiva saca?, de você soltar o estresse—”

Jeferson: “—tipo assim, quem curte hardcore, quem toca, quem tem banda, nêgo tem que ter—”

Jôsefer: “—ter feeling, cara—”

Jeferson: “—tem que ter uma entrega bicho, sabe? Se você tá fazendo aquilo dali é porque você gosta, é porque você ama aquilo, sacou? Você tem que gostar daquilo, não adianta você fazer porque você quer ganhar dinheiro, você não precisa pensar nisso porque você não vai ganhar dinheiro, você não vai se dar de bem nunca, faça parada que é porque você gosta . . . Eu namorei com uma menina uma vez que disse, ‘Você tem um erro muito grande em você.’ Eu falo: ‘O quê é que é?’ ‘Você vê muito o lado emocional, você esquece muito fácil assim, a razão.’ Mas é porque, pra mim, sempre esse lado emocional sempre puxou mais, assim. É sempre onde eu busquei mais forças.”

Jôsefer: “Ainda bem que ele não toca emocore.”

kinds of hardcore, such as crustcore, grindcore, and thrashcore. This has to do with what is seen as insincere, exaggerated emotionality, similar in this regard to sertaneja, a style of Brazilian music that features high-pitched, nasal male voices in duet (usually a third apart), waxing lyrically over accordions about uxorious, rejected, and cuckolded characters. Emocore is also the substyle most palatable for radio play, opening bands to the accusation of pandering to the mainstream, to selling out.

In talking about the pleasure of playing, Alice Nina tied friendship and rehearsing with <silente> (see track 12 of the CD) to the joy of making music. “There’s the friendship thing—I think it’s a thing of rehearsing and being there with people you like, doing something really, really fun, and breaking free of your routine.”²⁰³ She compared the boredom and stress of studying and working without reprieve to the “fun, relaxing” [*divertido, tranquilo*] rehearsals. “I don’t have my instrument at home. So the only time I can play drums is in rehearsal, so I itch to get to the studio, because I want to play. So it’s a very special moment.”²⁰⁴ Her band mate Teresa recalled the time when they gave a copy of their disc to Juliano to review in *Fúria Urbana*: “He wrote me an email saying, ‘I wanted to review it for the ‘zine, but it’s impossible, because I would have to write my tears. It is so amazing. It moved me so fucking much.’” Alice added: “It made me want to cry when I read that”²⁰⁵ (Nina and Teresa 2005).

²⁰³ “Tem essa coisa da amizade, acho que é o lance de estar ensaiando ali é hora de estar com as pessoas que você gosta, fazendo uma coisa que te diverte pra caramba, e saindo da rotina.”

²⁰⁴ “[E]u não tenho meu instrumento em casa. Então o único momento que eu posso tocar bateria é no ensaio, então eu fico coçando pra ir pro estúdio porque eu quero tocar. Então é um momento muito especial.”

²⁰⁵ Teresa: “Quando a gente entregou o disco pra ele, ele me escreveu um email falando ‘eu queria resenhar pro zine mas é impossível porque eu ia ter que escrever minhas lágrimas, é muito foda, e me toca pra caralho.’”

The words used when talking about music and the underground often convey an emotional commitment to both the music and to wider issues. Mattos was unequivocal in what motivates his music making:

These days I make underground [music] because these days I think that . . . I think that the world is ending. . . . These days I feel like breaking everything. This is why I make music that's so radical, because I just want to break this thing, break this thought, put an end to this story of thinking that progress is such a marvelous thing. . . . Man's progress is imbecile, not thought out. It's mass destruction.²⁰⁶ (Mattos 2005).

The way rockers' talk about the underground is another means for understanding something of the emotional side of their commitment to the scene. The meanings of the polysemic terms *hardcore* and *independent*, two of the labels most used to describe the scene, the music, the philosophy, and the activities of members of the underground, have an emotional basis. Juliano's peripatetic definition of the former refuses to contain it to a single activity. What binds all his examples is an emotional commitment to the big picture.

Hardcore is the means for questioning. I think it's more than music, than a musical style. The music is a hardcore means of expression, like the fanzine,

which is another hardcore means. Like films, documentaries that denounce the

Alice: "Deu vontade de chorar quando eu li isso."

²⁰⁶ "Hoje eu faço underground porque hoje eu acho que, por exemplo, acho que o mundo tá acabando como eu te falei. . . . Hoje eu tenho vontade de quebrar tudo. Por isso que eu faço um som tão radical assim, porque é a minha vontade de quebrar essa coisa, de quebrar esse pensamento, acabar com essa história de achar que o progresso é essa coisa maravilhosa. . . . O progresso do homem é uma coisa imbecil, impensada, é uma destruição em massa chamada de progresso."

reality of oppression. Subversive friendships within hardcore that permit greater liberty of expression. Discussion, questioning, this for me is hardcore! Not just the music. . . . *Urban Fury*—I think you got a copy of it! I write the whole thing myself, I began it last year, and it, too, is hardcore. Interviewing someone about all of this—that, too, is hardcore. (Lopes 2005).²⁰⁷

Paulo Mattos defines independence as a necessary response to the troubled state of the world. His motive for making underground music and for engaging in independent production is one of anger and despair. Juliano called the act of questioning “hardcore” and hardcore (the music, etc.) the means for questioning. Mattos argued that independent production is the only means that will enable this questioning.

Look, I’ve become pretty hopeless about things. First thing: I do something for it to be an alternative to this one path, this one-way street. I think the independent way is liberty in production, of the pulling together of resources, to be able to produce something that’s not in the media, that’s not being said. And the other thing: I think that to do this you have to open spaces with no preconceived notions about that which is new. I am not worried at all about having a really clear

²⁰⁷ O Hardcore é o meio para o questionamento, acredito que é mais que música, que um estilo musical. A música é um meio de expressão Hardcore, como o fanzine, que é outro meio Hardcore. Como filmes, documentários que denunciam a realidade de opressão. As amizades subversivas dentro do Hardcore que permitem maior liberdade de expressão. Discussão, questionamento, isso, para mim, é Hardcore! Não é só música. . . . O *Fúria Urbana*—acho que você já pegou! Eu escrevo ele todinho, comecei ano passado, e isso também é Hardcore. Entrevistar uma pessoa sobre tudo isso, também é Hardcore.

political message. I am concerned with being open to what's new, in order to debate new ideas. Because I don't have the solution.²⁰⁸ (Mattos 2005).

Other subjects that raised rockers' hackles included the *traidores do movimento* ("traitors to the movement"), people viewed as turncoats or sell-outs. Who is a traitor is a matter of point of view and depended on the subject position within the underground of the person speaking to me. For a punk, for example, it could a punk who turned metal. For a metalhead, it could be a metal band that whose guitarists played in the 1980's heavy metal solo style of "shredding" (called *farofa*).²⁰⁹ For a straight-edger it is someone who is no longer SxE or vegan. In general, traitors are people perceived to be putting money or success above their "culture." They are people who "lose character" (*sofrer descaraterização*) by renouncing their roots, who "lose their soul" (*perder a alma*) by abjuring the underground. This is a taboo, and it chills, due to the mortal danger in which many believe the underground to be.

A term used for a related concept that shows distinctly an emotional reaction to its subject is "cagão," derived from the verb *cagar*, to shit, and the masculine augmentative suffix "-ão." In abstract terms, this is someone who "bites the hand that feeds them"; or, more colorfully and to the point, "shits in the plate they ate from" (*cagou no prato de onde comeu*). A specific example would be a thrash metal musician who at some point

²⁰⁸ "Olha, eu assim, fiquei meio desesperançado com as coisas. Primeira coisa: eu faço alguma coisa pra ser alternativa a esse caminho único, a essa mão única. Então eu acho que esse caminho independente já é uma liberdade de produção, de captação de recursos, pra poder produzir uma coisa que não tá aí na mídia, que não tá sendo ditada. E outra coisa: eu acho que pra isso você tem que abrir espaços sem preconceito pra tudo que é novo. Não estou preocupado em ter uma mensagem política claríssima não, to preocupado em abrir pra o que é novo, pra se debater novas idéias. Porque eu não tenho a solução."

²⁰⁹ The dish made of coarsely ground manioc flour to which is added just about anything, then thrown over beans, rice, salad, soup, etc.

says that thrash is trash.²¹⁰ In the underground this is considered an otherwise acceptable change in ideology or politics rendered unacceptable by the unethical repudiation of former peers. These people are detested, though their presence may be tolerated if they continue to frequent shows (not common). The act of a *cagão* is despicable precisely because it is supposed that they are betraying their erstwhile mates for personal gain—either financial or social. A hardcore group that “goes soft” for radio play and publicly rejects hardcore is an example of the former. The born-again *crente* (“believer”) who joins a church (generally Protestant and charismatic) and forswears all association to the underground is an instance of the latter. So-called “white metal” or “gospel metal” groups, those who sing religious lyrics to metal music, are guilty of both. They are often financially successful, as churches give them instruments and rehearsal space, pay them to perform, and encourage a “captive audience” to buy their recordings. They are deeply despised, in part due to the perceived contradiction intrinsic to the style: If the church rejects metal and hardcore music as satanic or inherently evil (a not unfounded perception), how can it support these bands? More to a personal point, how can underground rockers turn around and walk through the doors of the very institution that treated them with contempt, calling them druggies and devil worshippers? I surmise that underground rockers’ general resentment of institutionalized religion also has to do with churches’ taking over of spaces that once provided venues for rock (as discussed in

²¹⁰ This is a little bit of a pun. “Thrash” is pronounced locally as “trash” (with a rolled ‘r’), given the inexistence of the consonant digraph ‘th.’ Thus, thrash *is* trash, even to those who like it.

Chapter 4), rendering hypocritical their support of bands. The assumption is that money plays a central role in the motives of both the churches and the musicians.²¹¹

It is not just the church that is felt to discriminate against the underground. Rockers feel that wider society does, too. Rubens of Gate's Pub told me that "A 13- or 14-year-old girl is afraid even to pass by [someone dressed in black], she thinks he's going to hit her, that it's something negative. It's not! It's a way of dealing with one's life"²¹² (2005). The final means of observing the emotional commitment to the underground that I shall present is through the interpretation of reports of prejudice and discrimination.

Musicians in the underground frequently spoke of disrespect, prejudice and violations of personal safety and freedom. I knew several who suffered personal attacks during the period of my fieldwork. One teenager from Gama named Filipe CDR, ex-guitarist for the punk band Artigo 137, was picked up with a friend by the police late one night walking back from Valparaíso to Gama, beaten, and then put in the middle of the highway, ordered to run home, and told that if the cruiser overtook them, they would be beaten more. Several "goth" teens from Cidade Occidental in the Entorno were beaten up by skinheads at the festival Porão do Rock in 2005.²¹³

²¹¹ In the last chapter I wrote about the CONIC and how important it is to the underground. Over the last few years, charismatic churches have bought up more and more real estate within the CONIC, and their presence is interpreted as a grave threat to the diversity in general and to the underground in particular.

²¹² "Uma menina de 13, 14 anos tem até medo de passar perto, pensa que vai bater nela, que é uma coisa negativa. Não é! É uma forma de lidar com a própria vida."

²¹³ The writing of this part of the dissertation continues to be updated in a disturbing, even macabre manner. Nine days ago the notorious neo-Nazi skinhead known as Jailson, 38-years old, was shot and killed in Taguatinga, one bullet allegedly piercing the swastika tattooed on his left breast. While the police suspect either members of his own group, which they claim he had disavowed one year ago, or someone committing a crime of passion, members of the underground believe that it was vengeance, a retaliatory killing, perhaps on contract, for years of violent beatings, and perhaps worse, of punks and metalheads,

When these subjects came up, the speakers in their teens and early 20s seemed less disturbed; at times they declared the existence of discrimination in an emulous display of youthful nonchalance. Those in their 30s or older, usually so animated by the pleasure of talking about a subject dear to them, invariably became crest-fallen and subdued, and at times found themselves at a loss for words. On occasion their tone verged on the wistful. I sensed in these moments that reality conflicted so strongly with their principles that a longing flushed their recollections, one that dulled the luster of their idealism. Like slowly rising seas, a seeping demoralization encroached over the years on the firm ground of conviction formed in adolescence. The solidity and safety of the underground depended on both the dauntlessness of youth and the perseverance of elders.

Michelle and Alessandra spoke with resignation about how metal is viewed by society. They shared their indignation over their musical style's demonization, while the media fawns over the singers and DJs of *funk carioca*, a kind of rap music with lewd lyrics that originated in the slums of Rio de Janeiro.

Michelle: I think any kind of culture that frees people from these chains, or tries to anyway . . . they try to eliminate. The stupider, the better.

Alessandra: The idea that many people have is that [our music] is "marginal," satanic, anything but a form of expression, something new.

among others. While the newspaper article reporting the shooting (<http://noticias.correioweb.com.br/materias.php?id=2699740&sub=Distrito>) makes mention of skinhead violence against blacks and rival skinheads, it does not note that they routinely attack underground rockers. "He messed with someone who was a real man," was uttered at a show last night (March 3, 2007). Update: Nazi skinhead killed in São Paulo, allegedly by punks: <http://oglobo.globo.com/sp/mat/2007/04/15/295367916.asp> and <http://oglobo.globo.com/sp/mat/2007/04/15/295367922.asp> (April 15, 2007).

Michelle: They're not interested. They'd rather see a pop band playing on t.v., saying nice little things.

Alessandra: Pretty people talking, lots of the time, about drugs, sex. For Brazilian t.v. that's normal.

Michelle: There are worse things [than metal] . . . funk. Is there anything more tied in with drugs and sex than that? People won't let their child go to a metal show, whether it's black metal or whatever, which is much more decent, but they let them go to a funk dance.

Alessandra: And at the funk dance, financed by drug traffickers, there are minors, prostitution.²¹⁴ (Godinho and Tavares 2005).

João "Meia-Boca" related how Moisés, a "goth"-rock-dressing youth who gives piano lessons at the ICP, filled out a job application, in which in the space marked "Profession" he wrote "Musician"; the application's reviewer looked at him and said, "No. What is your *profession*?" He stated, awkwardly, "I am a musician."

There's disrespect on the part of event organizers, society, bar owners. The guy sees someone with a guitar on his back and says, "the dude's going to smoke pot,

then go play music." . . . So the great challenge is for you to stand up with your

²¹⁴ Michelle: "Acho que toda cultura que liberta a pessoa dessas amarras, ou sei lá, que tenta libertar . . . eles tentam eliminar. Que é que quanto mais burro, quanto mais . . . melhor."

Alessandra: "Então a idéia que muita gente tem é que é marginalizado, que é satânico, que é tudo menos uma forma de expressão, uma coisa nova . . . porque é assim, aqui é assim."

Michelle: "Não interessa. Interessa ir uma banda popular tocar na televisão, falando coisas bonitas."

Alessandra: "Pessoas bonitas falando, muitas vezes, de drogas, de sexo. Isso aí pra televisão brasileira é normal."

Michelle: "Tem coisa pior . . . o funk. Tem coisa mais ligada à droga e sexo do que isso? A pessoa, às vezes, não deixa o filho ir num show de metal, de black metal que seja, que é muito mais descente do aquilo ali. Mas deixa ir num baile funk."

Alessandra: "E ali no baile funk, é financiado por traficantes, tem menores, prostituição."

instrument and say, “I’m a musician.” . . . A musician is like a [soccer] player—he’s valued only when he appears where? In the media.²¹⁵ (João “Meia-Boca” 2005).

The ellipses in the following quote are not elisions, but pauses, as Gilmar recollected a particularly painful episode of discrimination:

I’ll tell you, well, details that very few people know. But from being beaten up by the police several times, to even being beaten up by security—I was once beaten up by security at a show that *I* organized, where *my* band was going to play at a record-release party—the security guy hit me because he thought I was too short, too ugly, too arrogant . . . a guy that I contracted and everything . . . that’s what it’s like . . . why am I bringing up this issue? Because underground music in Brasília is not respected . . .²¹⁶ (Santos 2005a).

Finally, Fellipe CDC remarked that it’s not just wider society that discriminates against the underground. It comes from within rock, too. “There are styles of rock that I’ve been into for a long time, the types I most like, which are metal, hardcore, punk, like

²¹⁵ “Existe um desrespeito dos organizadores de eventos, da sociedade, dos donos de bar. O cara vê um cara com violão nas costas e fala, ‘O bicho já vai lá fumar maconha, vai tocar música.’ . . . Então esse é o grande desafio, é você chegar com seu instrumento e falar, ‘Eu sou músico.’ . . . O músico é como o jogador de futebol, ele só vai ter um valor na hora que ele tiver na onde? Na mídia.”

²¹⁶ “Vou te falar, assim, detalhes que realmente poucas pessoas sabem. Mas desde apanhar de polícia, várias vezes, até apanhar de segurança, eu já apanhei de segurança de show que eu tava organizando, que minha banda ia tocar pra lançar um desses LPs, do segurança me bater porque me achou baixinho demais, feio demais ou arrogante demais . . . e é um cara que eu contratei e tal . . . então isso é . . . por que trago essa questão? Porque música underground, em Brasília, não é respeitado . . .”

that, that even today suffer from prejudice within rock itself. Pop rock and such discriminate against these styles”²¹⁷ (Sant’anna 2005a).

In this chapter, I approached the constitution of place as a personal matter involving commitment on a number of levels. On the surface they appear diverse and unrelated: visual, sonic, performative, communitarian, and personal. But what underlies the aesthetic, social, and emotional commitment, what draws them together, is rockers’ perception that the underground depends on their presence, on their continued involvement, and on their dedication to certain ideals, despite discrimination, repression, lack of recognition, and the financial unviability of their project. Their music is completely DIY. In fact, their society, the underground, is DIY from its look and sound, to its means of communication, media, events, community outreach, and social networks. *Place is DIY.*

²¹⁷ “Há vertentes do rock que há muito tempo eu acompanho, que é a vertente que eu mais gosto, que é metal, hardcore, punk, assim . . . que até hoje sofre um grande preconceito dentro do próprio meio rock. Pop-rock e tal, essas coisas, tem um grande preconceito contra esses estilos.”

Vignette 3

Up from the underground to national renown: The Porão do Rock

The Porão do Rock (literally, “Cellar of Rock”) is an NGO based in Brasília. It is best known for producing the largest independent music festival in all of Brazil, occurring each June or July in Brasília. The NGO began as an association in 1997, when members from 15 bands joined forces to strengthen the local independent rock scene. They had all been rehearsing in rooms in the basement of the partially abandoned Brasília Rádio Center, which over the course of the 1990s had become a safe place for rock bands to make noise—few offices were being used, and no one complained. Rock bands had, as always, struggled to find place to rehearse, and Rádio Center, located in the Sector for Radio and Television North, Quadra 702, was centrally located yet far from residential quadras. Later that same year, the nascent organization moved to Bloco A of SCLN 207, another building that met these same conditions, yet for being much smaller could be theirs alone, facilitating their concentration.

One of these bands was the soul-rock group Plástica: Ulysses X (vocals), Jair Santiago (guitar), Raul Santiago (bass), Fabrizio Michels (keyboard), Henrique Ayres (saxophone), and Ticho Lavenère (drums). The other bands spanned the spectrum of rock styles, from pop-rock to rock-reggae, classic rock, jazz-rock fusion, hard rock, hip-hop, and hardcore. All of them had suffered the much discussed shortage of *place to play* and realized that by combining their efforts they could accomplish what a single band could not. They decided to put on a festival to play together, thereby achieving both space and

opportunity to perform, which, with the visibility gained by the festival, could translate into increased *place to play* after the event—not just for them, but for the whole independent rock scene. From the beginning they were cognizant of the importance of doing things as a collective. Thus, when the name Porão do Rock was selected, they decided with a gentleman's agreement that the name would belong to no one person or band. Instead, it would belong to the association, whose mission would be to serve independent music, create opportunities, and generate a local market so that bands would not have to go to Rio or São Paulo to be heard and recorded. In this spirit Jair and two others went to São Paulo with a CD of recordings of the 15 bands to promote the festival that would take place in August of 1998, the slowest time of year culturally. They also intended to show the media that Brasília's rock scene was not just the bands from the 1980s that earned the city the title Capital of Rock, nor had it died with their departure for the big cities. Equally important was the message that not all Brasiliense rock was hard and fast like Os Raimundos, Brasília's best known band of the 1990s. The capital, they wanted the nation to know, was home to a musical diversity equal to that of its demography.

As happens in Brasília, someone in the association knew someone in the city administration, who had access to public money for cultural events. With this money they organized the festival, held in the Concha Acústica, the acoustic shell and hexagonal outdoor amphitheater on the edge of the lake. Ten thousand people attended the free festival, despite the remoteness of the location and anonymity of many bands.

Encouraged by the event's success and convinced of the public's desire for independent music, the association planned a second festival the following year. They invited the same 15 bands to play, but also opened it to others. They recognized that previous music festivals in Brasília, including Cabeças, which ran for some ten years beginning in 1978, and the episodic Feira de Música, held throughout most of the 1990s, had been popular and well attended precisely because of their diversity.

Since the Porão's mission was to bring attention to independent local bands, they produced a fanzine and to attract the mainstream press contemplated resuscitating a previously popular band. One member of the association was in New York City, where Philippe Seabra of Plebe Rude was living. Plebe Rude, as noted in Chapter 2, had been a force in bringing the local rock scene to the national stage in the late 1980s and, though retired, enjoyed a large following. Together they decided that Plebe would do a comeback show at the Porão's 1999 festival. The press was alerted, and the response was nostalgic excitement. Three independent bands from other cities were invited to play, and with 22 total acts, two days were needed. Forty-five thousand people attended.

Bringing bands from other cities served both to gain local and wider recognition for Brasiliense bands and to expose them to the aesthetics and compositional and performative practices of bands from other scenes. It would also create opportunities for linking the independent scenes throughout the country: eventually the Porão do Rock association formed the Brazilian Association of Independent Music Festivals.

It was decided that the following year (2000) the festival would have to be held in a larger, more secure, and more centrally situated venue to make arrival by mass transit more viable. Reaching the Concha required two buses, even for people coming from within the Pilot Plan, while those coming from satellite cities were still more inconvenienced. The search for a space meeting these criteria resulted in the selection of the parking lot of Estádio Mané Garrincha, the city's soccer stadium, walkable from the central bus station.

Attendance at the 1999 festival also signaled to the association that the potential for doing social good was great. For the 2000 edition they tied the distribution of tickets, still free, to the donation of warm clothing. These donations were given to Abrace, an energy concern that sponsored the annual “Winter Without Cold” clothing drive.²¹⁸ While Abrace had collected 500 clothing items in three months, Porão received 3000 in a week. This was the first step towards taking their commitment to the music scene in a social-activist direction.

The 2001 festival featured the “I vote against AIDS” campaign to raise HIV and AIDS awareness, supported by the Secretary of Health. Eventually, STD testing stations were set up at the festivals. On September 11 of that year the Porão do Rock was to become officially an NGO.

-- And on that day, we went downstairs to a room to sign [the act]. Everybody was stupefied by all that [had happened], because it wasn't an attack against the

²¹⁸ Associação Brasileira de Grandes Consumidores Industriais de Energia e de Consumidores Livres – The Brazilian Association of Large Industrial Consumers of Energy and of Free Consumers – www.abrace.org.br.

United States, but against everybody. Everybody was terrified and . . . two rooms over a gas tank exploded. A huge explosion, an immediate blackout, that wall collapsed, glass shattering, the noise of wreckage, everyone screaming.

-- The explosion was so strong that a steel cabinet flew across the room and ended up mangled in the corner.

-- Two months earlier, at the Porão do Rock festival, “Cachorrão” fell off the stage, that high stage, and broke his arm in multiple places . . . and it was almost healed. He was sitting in a chair when the thing exploded, and he fell on his arm again. It was dark and we looked in and [said], “Anyone still here?” And Cachorrão: “Oh, oh, my arm . . .” [Laughter].

-- This in the dark, in the dark and people screaming “Let’s get out of here!” and when we looked we saw an apartment on fire.

-- We were lucky, the explosion was so strong that shards of glass—

-- —On one side it exploded and on the other was [the office where] the ‘zine was made, the door and glass came flying in and [Kennedy’s] fortune was that he was in a big chair, and when he saw the explosion he went like this [i.e. dove under the desk] and it flew over him.

-- We ended up having to schedule another meeting, postponing the assembly for the creation of the NGO, I think about a month later . . . ²¹⁹ (Porão do Rock 2005).

²¹⁹ After the interview I could no longer determine the identity of all of the seven or so speakers. Thus I decided to leave the names off of all.

-- “E nesse dia nós descemos aqui pra uma sala assinar, tava todo mundo assim estupefato com aquilo tudo, porque aquilo não foi um atentado contra os Estados Unidos e sim contra o todo o mundo é outra coisa assim, né? Todo mundo ficou apavorado com aquilo e . . . duas sala ao lado da sala que teve a explosão do

After the establishment of the NGO, the festivals grew and the social actions continued. Later actions included:

- “Quero usar de novo” (“I want to use it again”): a recycling campaign in partnership with a local organization that funds language and computer classes and creates jobs with money from the sale of recycled materials
- the joining of forces with SESC and its program Mesa Brasil (“Table Brazil”)²²⁰, which donates food to institutions serving children, the elderly, and the infirm, for whom the Porão gathered 80 tons of food over three years
- “Ligue-se nas músicas e desligue-se das drogas” (“Turn on to songs, turn off to drugs”): a campaign in partnership with the UN and Brazilian government that earned them the commendation of the Order of Social Merit, awarded by President of the Republic

bujão de gás. Uma explosão muito grande, um blackout de luz que apagou na hora, esse forro de gesso todo caiu, vidro quebrando, aquele barulho de escombros e gente gritando.”

-- “Foi tão forte a explosão que ele tinha um armário de aço, ele atravessou essa parte aqui e ficou enrolada ali.”

-- “O Cachorrão uns dois meses antes no festival Porão do Rock, caiu do palco aquele palco alto, quebrou o braço em várias partes, demorou um tempão pra ficar bom, tava quase ficando bom, ele tava sentado numa cadeira assim e estourou o negócio e ele caiu em cima do braço de novo. Tava no escuro a gente foi perto assim, ‘Ainda tem alguém aqui?’ Aí o Cachorrão: ‘Ai, ai meu braço . . .’” [Risos].

-- “Isso no escuro, no escuro e a gente gritando, ‘Vamos embora!’ Aí que a gente foi ver que já tinha uma quitinete pegando fogo já.”

-- “A gente teve muita sorte, a explosão foi muito forte, porque os estilhaços—”

-- “—de um lado explodiu e do outro lado ficava a revista, a porta tudo mais, vidro, entrou pela sala adentro. A sorte dele é que ele tava numa cadeira dessa de chefe e aí quando ele viu a explosão fez assim e passou por ele o Kennedy.”

-- “Terminou marcamos outra reunião, aí adiamos essa assembléia de criação da ONG acho que foi pra um mês depois.”

²²⁰ Serviço Social de Comércio – Social Service of Commerce – www.sesc.com.br.

- a campaign with Ambev (beer-maker American Beverages) to reduce underage drinking and drunk driving, in which discount taxis and free bus service were provided
- “Sou da Paz” (“I am of Peace”): an anti-violence campaign, created in conjunction with an organization in the satellite city of Ceilândia that works with hip-hop in schools to promote social values.

In this last case, the organization had been prevented from working in schools, as hip-hop is not well regarded by the police. When the Porão collaborated with the group, the latter gained credibility and was allowed to carry out its program. “One of the things the Porão does is join up with organizations that need amplification in order to be visible, the same way we do for bands,”²²¹ (Porão do Rock 2005).

Since its earliest days the Porão has collaborated with GQuatro Produções production company and For Rock Promoções publicity company. Together these three entities put on the festivals, receiving over 600 entries for some 30 spots over a weekend of music. The first cut is made by the these entities. The second cut is made in two days of open auditions by a ten-member jury comprised of the organization and people publicly active in the rock community, such as press personnel, radio djs, fanzine editors, musicians, and heads of labels, and the odd ethnomusicologist.²²² The public also votes.

The headliners, of which there are around 10, are chosen by the production team, who use the big names to pull in sponsorship money from large companies. Unfortunately, costs

²²¹ “Uma das coisas que o Porão também faz é se juntar a organizações que precisam ser amplificadas para que eles tenham visibilidade, do mesmo jeito que a gente dá pras bandas.”

²²² I was invited as a judge in 2006.

have outstripped funding from the public and private sectors, forcing the organization to start charging entry. In 2003, the first year that cost money, a ticket was R\$ 2.50 per day, plus a kilo of food. In 2006, it had risen to R\$10 per day, plus the food.

The collaboration among friends, the semi-hidden selection process, and the visible success of the organization (plus anger over the ticket price) has caused the predictable backlash:

It's because in Brazil, you know what happens? People normally create things to benefit themselves, but don't let other people also benefit, so everybody [i.e. in the organization] was very afraid that the Porão would be a panela. Indeed, we were called a panelinha and everything, but we always joke and say, "Gee, it started out with 15, and now more than 150 bands have played. Just think! What a panela!"²²³ (Porão do Rock 2005).

* * * * *

The story of the Porão do Rock organization, completely DIY, is an apt ending to the systematic analysis of the aspects of place and their relation to rock. In many ways, this organization draws together principle elements of the rock-place dialogue examined in preceding chapters. It illustrates two aspects of *place as purpose*: First, the geographic problem Brasília and its rock scene have faced, located in the center of the country and isolated from existing infrastructure—a result of the construction of the new capital at

²²³ “É porque no Brasil sabe o que acontece? As pessoas normalmente criam as coisas pra se beneficiar, mas não deixam outras pessoas também se beneficiarem e então todo mundo tinha muito medo do Porão ser uma panela. Inclusive a gente foi chamado de panelinha e tudo, só que a gente sempre brinca, fala, ‘Pó, começou com quinze, e já tocaram mais de cento e cinquenta trabalhos. Imagina que panela!’”

purposeful distance from existing society: Cut off from the music industry and media, members of the organization traveled to São Paulo with evidence of their production to draw attention to Brasília, in hopes of diverting resources from the Rio-São Paulo axis. Second, these enterprising rockers availed themselves of their proximity, physical and socio-relational, to governing power and its resources, demonstrating another aspect of *place as purpose*: Brasília as administrative center. As discussed in the section on government support of music, contacts within the administration are a boon, if not essential, for any project with hopes of access to official capital. Their connection with city administrators was absolutely crucial in getting monies, physical space, and sound and lighting equipment for the first festival. It also enabled them to eventually become a model for other aspiring organizers of independent music festivals in places more distant from the capital. This, in turn, shows a degree of cosmopolitanism, as they, through organizations such as the Brazilian Association of Independent Festivals, formed and maintain connections with other regions of the country, facilitated by living in the capital city. The circulation of ideas and human resources is also what took at least one member of the nascent organization to New York City, where he met with Seabra of Plebe Rude and discussed the show that marked the band's comeback and the beginning of the Porão's national importance.

Their story also shows how *place as shape* is related to rock production in Brasília. Initially the association was a collection of bands rehearsing in the semi-abandoned basement rooms of Rádio Center; later they moved to the basement rooms of

the recently constructed commercial Bloco A of Local Commercial Sector 207 North. Both spaces were chosen for their physical distance from residential blocos (the first is in the middle of a large commercial area, while the second is adjacent to the undeveloped quadra owned by the University of Brasília). The small size of the rooms, around 30 square meters on average, is standard for office space in Brasília and adequate for simple rehearsal studios.

Second, the choice of location for the festival illustrates the issue of physical space: in 1998 and 1999 the festival was held in the Concha Acústica on the edge of the lake. This was and still is one of the very few areas in the city large enough for a big event. Even so, it was too small and deemed too difficult to get to for many festival attendees, who without cars and coming from beyond the Pilot Plan would likely have to take at least four buses—two or more, there and back. The move to the parking lot of the Mané Garrincha Stadium facilitated access; its being a parking lot rather than an actual music structure shows the necessity for creative use of *liminal spaces*.

Third, we heard how the association has been accused of being a *panela fechada*. They began as a group of friends whose bands played the original two festivals. Over the years, however, their presence as performing artists has diminished; in 2006 not one played. But the feeling among some remains that they unfairly reserve resources for themselves and their friends. This, I believe, has to do with the sense that they have grown so big that small, underground bands hardly stand a chance of participating. There is truth to the contention that increased competition has made entry more difficult, but

both my research and experience as a member of the selection committee in 2006 show no evidence for the allegation that bands are systemically excluded for being from the underground or satellite cities. Members of the organization were candid about how difficult the selection process is; they revealed how personal matters have in the past interfered in what should be an objective, dispassionate process.

The fact that this association was born in and continues to be located in the Pilot Plan affirms the existence and enduring strength of the socio-spatial homology. But it is my opinion that members of the Porão have worked to undermine it. Beginning with the second edition, they opened the festival to bands not part of the original 15, and in subsequent years many underground bands and those from beyond the Pilot Plan have taken the stage. The majority of the bands I worked with for this dissertation come from the group systemically excluded in the homology, but most have played in the festival. They include: ARD, Death Slam, Detrito Federal, Galinha Preta, Macakongs 2099, Satan's Pray, Terror Revolucionário, and Valhalla. Others I worked with that could be said to be of the benefiting side of the homology and who have played include Celso Salim, Khallice, Kiko Peres, Móveis Coloniais de Acaju, Plebe Rude, Deceivers, Etno (see track 4 of the CD), Pœna, and Quebraqueixo. Parallel to their work to boost the presence of independent bands, the NGO side of the association has also consciously sought to draw into the circle of power organizations from beyond it, to "amplify" their work.

Place as presence as an aspect of the place-rock dialectic is most clearly demonstrated in the NGO's social programs. They have taken to a national level the social commitment that Gilmar Santos, João Meia-Boca, and Fellipe CDC exemplify. The Porão NGO has put rock as a social force on the big stage, and they, like the three individuals named above, have my deepest respect for envisioning the possibility of aligning their musical interests and concerns with social activism. The association's origins and continued existence as a social network, even though they have grown in size and reach, underscores the socio-relational nature of the rock scene. As we saw, they utilized the tool of a 'zine. Recently they inaugurated a community radio station.

Porão do Rock also illuminates the other two aspects of the *place as presence*. The festivals show the aesthetic concerns of the scene. As it has grown, it has included bands from most every style of rock. The night dedicated to the bands most representative of the underground show the visual and aural aesthetic markers I described in Chapter 5. Even the *Correio Braziliense's* publicity ahead of the festival makes use of darkness as symbol: cartoonish illustrations meant to orient festival-goers to each night's musical theme show the underground rocker as tattooed, pierced, and wearing black. The Porão's own t-shirts are black.

Second, the emotional basis to the commitment to the organization, independent rock, and greater society is evidenced. At the risk of failing to convey the sincerity of his sentiment, I close this vignette with Ulysses X's words:

When you love a person, when you need them, don't you want them to always be well? When we started to see all those young people gathered together there [at the festivals], we began to see that we could, with very little effort, do a lot . . . and [we started] to look for partnerships to create, in truth, an educational campaign, because we [wanted to] make music better, make the city better, make the place we lived better.²²⁴ (Porão do Rock 2005).

²²⁴ “Quando você ama uma pessoa, precisa dela, você não quer que ela sempre esteja bem? Quando a gente começou a ver a molecada reunida lá, a gente começou a ver que a gente podia com muito pouco esforço ter uma grande resposta . . . e procurar parcerias pra gente desenvolver na verdade uma campanha de educação porque a gente ta melhorando a música, ta melhorando a cidade, ta melhorando o lugar onde a gente vive.”

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Music as a Witness to Place

“Why are we still in this? Man, 20 years of a band, I’m 40 years old, and I haven’t made a single fucking penny yet. Why I am doing this?”²²⁵ – Gilmar Santos

Why rock, why in Brasília, and why given all the challenges? Throughout dissertation we have seen how rock has been a focus of, or vehicle for, desire, aspirations, frustrations, fury, despair, fear, joy, dreams, personal achievement, and altruistic sentiment. It is an urban music and, of necessity, must confront the problems of the urban environment. But beyond this, it is wrapped up in a process of reciprocal and dialogic change with the city.

The first part of Chapter 2, “Capital of Hope,” introduced Brasília, its history, and the human geography of its socio-spatial homology, created by its urban design together with Brazilian social, political, and economic inequality. The second part, “Capital of Rock,” presented Brasília’s rock history, the current scene, and defined a number of genres within local rock music. This chapter set the stage for my investigation into, and creation of an architectonics of, the relationships between place and music, between the city of Brasília and the rock music made there.

In Chapter 3, “Place as Purpose,” we heard three of “rock’s refrains” that enabled us to see how intentions behind the construction of Brasília have had an impact on rock music that continue to the present. First, the newness of the capital left youth with little to

²²⁵ “Por que é que a gente tava nisso até hoje, né? Pô, vinte anos de banda, eu tenho quarenta anos de idade, sem ganhar porra nenhuma de dinheiro, por que é que eu tô nessa?” Santos 2005a.

do and tédio, or boredom, became a prime motivator for forming rock bands. Second, the presence of the federal government and the seat of the military dictatorship imbued the city with a level of political activity and social tension that gave youth material for ideological and aesthetic rebellion, for which they found punk rock to be the most adequate expression. Thirdly, the purpose of the city as administrative capital necessitated the assemblage of people from diverse parts of the country and globe, all of whom brought musical heritages, practices, and preferences. A cosmopolitan class formed, and within this cluster of people and practices, rock was discovered to be a common musical “language” for youth.

Vignette 1, “F*** the USA: Cosmopolitanism’s Furious Face,” demonstrated how, within a single song, rock musicians create cosmopolitan communities across space and time, forming places and “habitats of meaning” wherein music is the arena for engaging in processes of cultural production. The sounds, images, languages used, and performance practices may differ widely, but affiliations are created. The rage that motivates the making of rock within some of its more extreme genres is material for the formation of a legitimately, if little recognized, cosmopolitan class.

In Chapter 4, “Place as Shape,” we heard three more of “rock’s refrains.” The first placed motivation for local rock production in the “frigid and sterile” architecture. We saw how the buildings and layout of the city occasioned, in a variety of ways, the growth of a rock community, from the height and proximity of blocos to the musical preferences of youth in different semi-isolated, homogeneous quadras. The second showed how the fight for *place to play*, defined as both physical space and opportunity, resulted in large

part from the city's highly sectorized urban plan, which often places residential areas in close proximity to music venues. The city's two moieties, the Pilot Plan and the peripheral satellite cities, separated by demographic, geographic and infrastructural barriers, gave rise eventually to two rock scenes, differentiated musically in sound and performance, and socially through the formation of musical tribes. The third detailed the socio-economic phenomenon of the *panela fechada*, or "closed pot," its relationships to the settling of the city, and its impact on rock music production through preferential distribution of resources, including *places to play*.

Vignette 2, "A Crisis in Place," gave an example through an ethnography of a metal show of the battle over *place to play*. We saw how the structural, systemic problems behind space and opportunity to play resulted in immediate, ground-level problems. Fans' perseverance in the face of serious obstacles to their appreciation and enjoyment of the music demonstrated a determination to support their scene, raising the question of why this is so.

In Chapter 5, "Place as Presence," we finally saw how rock fans and musicians play a procreative role in the shaping of their scene and the city itself. The metaphor of dark matter facilitated our discernment of three aspects of the impact of their presence in the city. It also helped us to understand the question raised in Vignette 2. Clues lay in their various commitments. First, the commitment to chosen visual and aural aesthetics, symbolized by the black band t-shirt and exemplified by the DIY production of shows within a economy of financial loss, demanded that everyone do their part, of which attending a show was considered crucial. Second, the commitment to wider society is

strong within the underground rock scene, despite a lack of visibility of or recognition for their activism. In various ways, rockers contribute resources to social causes and actions, from putting out CDs that benefit social institutions, to volunteering at recreational organizations for youth, to teaching ethics and the meaning of citizenship in schools through, and alongside, their musical projects. Lastly, the emotional commitment to their music and their world, the most invisible of the forces that constitutes the scene and motivates rockers to make and support their music, was elucidated through testaments of the pleasure and challenges of playing, prejudice and discrimination, desire to change society through music, and the power of the signifiers “hardcore” and “independent” to do just that.

In Vignette 3, “Up from the Underground to National Renown: The Porão do Rock,” we learned how the mission of one group of musician-friends to create more *places to play* and improve the local independent rock scene led within ten years to the creation of the Porão do Rock, the largest independent rock festival in the country and an NGO that partners with other organizations to sponsor socially activist programs, from HIV awareness, and materials recycling, to the reduction of drug abuse, responsible drinking, and the collection and distribution of food and clothing.

In a succinct way the Porão do Rock embodies all of the major themes of the dissertation: the impact of the city’s purpose on rock through their own personal histories as musicians, their desire to strengthen the local rock market given the city’s distance from the Rio-São Paulo axis, and their ability to take advantage of their proximity to government; the impact of the city’s shape on rock through the way they met one another,

the need to create *places to play*, the choice of location for the festival, and the struggle with the issue of *panelas*; the impact of their presence on the city through their identification with the rock community's aesthetics, the DIY approach to the creation of the festival and the NGO, their social actions, and the emotional commitment to make the city a better place.

What makes rock so compelling for Brasília's rockers? Why, in spite of the forces acting against rock, especially the underground, are rockers like Gilmar so dedicated? There is a battle going on, as we saw in every chapter, from declining attendance, to absence of media interest, discrimination, shortage of space and opportunity to play, the lack of government and private support, transportation difficulties, and economic hardship. The answer, I believe, lies in three things.

One: The sound of the music—The loudness that fills the ears, jars one's equilibrium, and shivers the body like a sail in a storm, the square waves and distorted timbres that get under the skin and cause the cells to hum, and the driving, bursting, cracking incessancy of the *tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá* rhythm. Two: the rock community, especially the underground, is a voluntary organization for social interaction on one's own terms, while the shows themselves provide opportunities for the seeing and hearing of friends. Third: the energy of collectivity, from the organization of events, to the playing in bands, and the dancing in the *roda de pogo*, draws people back time and again to participate in the rock scene. Even as rock may for many be supplanted by electronica as signifier of modernity, it retains for many association with a wider, cosmopolitan, translocal, and democratic world. While more traditional Brazilian musical styles like

música caipira, sertaneja, forró, and even samba seem to belong to a Brazil that is rural and/or traditional, rock is for these youth urban, modern, here, and now. At one point or another these three motivators all act on an emotional level to reinforce the commitment to rock and the rockers' project.

* * * * *

At the most fundamental level, my argument has been that *music is a witness to place*. I investigated how Brasilienses use rock to define place. When we start talking about place, we encounter disturbing things like discrimination, inequality, police violence, and systemic failure to extend benefits to all. When seen as a *musical city*, Brasília shows how place and rock are imbricated within a system of ideological, structural division.

I began by proposing that *place* be parsed into dimensions, of which I analyzed three: purpose, shape, and presence. History and geography could not be fully investigated, due to constraints on length, though these dimensions would be important aspects of a full placial analysis. What I found was that specific relationships between music and place *can* be ascertained. Interpretations of the narratives of those whom I interviewed, historical research, statistical analyses, and ethnographic observations of the city and musical events established for me that rock and Brasília, and more generally music and place, act upon one another. That I could go beyond generalizations in drawing constitutive links between the two is, in itself, a significant finding.

The city acts on rock in the following ways: its purpose as the planned, rationally designed federal capital made of the city a cosmopolitan, political, and administrative

center with few leisure options in the early years. The mix of newly radicated people from around Brazil and other countries in sterile surroundings connected youth with little in the way of diversion to a wide variety of musical communities distinct from their own. Rock, especially punk, was the music that both served as musical common ground for youth of diverse backgrounds and traditions and appealed to them for its novelty, its aura of modernity, international significance, and representativeness of their generation. Amidst the focused, repressive political environment of the dictatorship in Brasília, they found punk to be the ideal channel to speak their minds.

The blocos and quadras of the city's modernist and functionalist architecture in the Pilot Plan gave shape to its buildings, which put residents in close contact with one another. The "frigid and sterile" design caused anxiety in its bored youth, yet heightened the likelihood of interaction, as the sounds of their music traveled from window to window and down to passersby below. Different quadras became associated with different musical tribos, or "tribes," and youth made a musical map of the city. The systematized settling of quadras according to occupational status and function made homogeneous micro-environments of each, which assisted in the formation of the *panelas fechadas*, the "closed pots." These cliques serve social and economic function in the rock universe, as musicians, especially those in the underground, struggle within a "negative economy" where resources are severely limited and individuals lose money on the basis of their music more often than make it. The capital's urban plan created of the city two moieties (the central Pilot Plan and the peripheral satellite cities) that over time shaped two rock scenes, a division that makes explicit a *socio-spatial homology*. The social,

demographic and economic conditions of the urban moieties correspond with those of the rock scenes.

The foregoing relationships demonstrate ways in which Brasília shaped and continues to shape rock music. Lyrics, too, reveal the city's impact on its musicians. But the musicians themselves have an impact on the city; they constitute the place as it constitutes them. Their uses of spaces not meant for music change the map of the city, as the flow of people follows the contours of the city's rock scenes. The effects of their physical presence in bars, clubs, on sidewalks, and in parking lots are registered in the value of real estate, the financial decisions of business owners, and battles over the production of sound and the preservation of silence. The presence of musicians and fans changes the way Brasília's inhabitants think of their city, as the visual and aural expressions of a rock aesthetic over time have given the city the reputation as the "Capital of Rock" and are formative elements in the construction of its identity. Rockers' social activities extend beyond the musical community into charities, political activism, education, and health, where they have palpable and lasting effect on the lives of individuals and institutions. Their emotional commitment and dedication to their music and the scene despite discrimination and lack of sufficient support from public and private sectors alike have given the city what some see as its only musical tradition. The strengthening of the independent music scene, the establishment of media outlets dedicated to rock, and the growth of the music industry changed the experience of geography, as the city "moved closer" to the Rio-São Paulo axis.

Seeing music, hearing place

The mutually constituting, dialogical relationship between place and music suggests that the former can be “seen,” while the latter is capable of being “heard.” Music is emplaced, as musicians and fans gravitate to areas of the city according to musical style, and as rock searches for place for expression in Brasília. This makes audible the battleground of a placial struggle where real resources are at stake. If genres and styles can be plotted spatially, then place must be representable through a *tonotopic map*, such as exists in the inner ear, where pitches excite hair cells at different locations on the basilar membrane according to their frequency (Levitin 2006: 27).

Place is also musicked: *tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá* is the rhythm whose sonic borders trace others demographic and geographic, representing a musical “redlining,” as it were.²²⁶ The socio-spatial homology thus has a sound. If place can be heard, then locations should produce *topotones*, sounds (frequencies, timbres, rhythms) that carry place-specific information—historical, social, political, economic, meteorological, physical, etc.

Noise as nexus

The social and the musical interface in *places*. What is musical, and what is not, is determined socially, relationally. Meaning in music is a question of relationships. Noise is the nexus where the heteroglossic voices meet and dialogue: *tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá-tu-pá* is meaningless sound in some places, “music” (i.e. meaningful sound) in others, and

²²⁶ See Chapter 4, note 35.

meaningful “noise” (i.e. objectionable sound) in still others. Hierarchies can be heard, as one meaning temporarily gains ascendancy over others. Meaning is stochastic and unfinalizable.

The Utopian Underground

I see hope in rock, especially the underground, for counteracting the forces keeping people apart. It presents a means of reconfiguring space and redistributing the capital embedded in the city's built environment. Negative perceptions of the satellite cities make it counter-cultural for youth from the city's two moieties, the center and the periphery, to join tribes. Those in the underground are among the most mobile of demographics and counteract the “rarefaction of the urban fabric” by creating compressions in the socio-spatial medium. Searching for places to play, organizing and attending shows across all Brasília, they exceed socially circumscribed spaces, as Jeferson attested:

Before, there was a lot of ‘neighborhood-ism’—folks from Taguá [Taguatinga] didn’t hang in the [Pilot] Plan, folks from the Plan didn’t hang in Taguatinga . . . but it’s breaking down now, now there’s a whole set who are part of a movement that’s breaking down this barrier. . . . People from Cruzeiro, Guará, the Plan, they all come here, folks from here go there. . . . I live here, but I hang with people from the Plan like Violator, Innocent Kids, who are from Guará, too. Then there’s

Adriana [Terror Revolucionário's bassist], who lives in Guará but spends all her time with us, see?"²²⁷

Universalizing Utopia

Brasília's promise was utopian, a "sociopolitical project of humanity's collective ability to produce the material conditions for the fulfilled existence of everyone" (Moylan 2000: 131). Costa and Niemeyer's political and social objectives were undermined and thwarted by the social reality they sought to change, yet also denied in an aporia of thinking: their vision was to create a prototype that would exist both within the then-current Brazil and isolated from it in an idealized meta-Brazil. Thus protected, it would unsoiled exert its influence on the pre-modern rest of Brazil. "Every system that wants to be 'rational' tends towards abstract intellectualism. . . . Socialization, concentration and planification form a scientifically correct paradigm: thus, it must be applied to everything at once, and it will work efficiently only if nothing escapes its hold," writes Marc Angenot (2001: 103). Forces of a pre-modern Brazil proved impossible to contain, and Brasília has reproduced at exacerbated levels the social and economic inequalities characteristic of the country as a whole.

What Brasília's designers attempted at the level of model and design, the rockers with a commitment to the underserved sections of society are doing at a grassroots level.

They proceed despite powerful anti-utopian forces, those that refuse—through cynicism,
²²⁷ "Antes tinha muito bairrismo, assim—pessoal de Taguá não andava no Plano, pessoal do Plano não andava em Taguatinga . . . mas que agora está quebrando, agora tem uma galera que faz parte do movimento que tá quebrando esta barreira. . . . O pessoal do Cruzeiro, Guará, Plano, tudo vem pra cá, galera daqui sai pra lá. . . . [E]u moro aqui, mas eu convivo muito com o pessoal do Plano, com o Violator, Innocent Kids, que já faz parte do Guará também. Depois tem a Adriana que mora no Guará, mas vive com o pessoal, entendeu?"

ridicule, or resigned pessimism—the possibility of radical social transformation. The status quo is strengthened by an historically sedimented oligarchic and class-based hegemony, as well as a popular imaginary that sees the Brazilian people as passive and non-revolutionary recipients of a beneficent patron; these social activist rockers are not buying in. They believe in the efficaciousness of their own DIY power and are engaged in ground-level work that is historical, in that it relies on incremental change that takes time. Their work shows that they are at least as interested in humans as in humanity. Visions of utopia that rely on an a-historical leap forward past the present tend towards a structuralism more concerned with humanity than with humans and run a greater risk of failing and breeding anti-utopian sentiment.

Again Angenot: “Abstract intellectualism not only abhors contingencies, indeterminations and social contradictions, but equally refuses society itself as plurality, diversity, antagonism. It prefers to see neither the infinite ruses of capitalism, nor . . . the indeterminacy at work in any society” (2001: 103). The rockers’ strategy and philosophy are DIY, an essentially democratic, non-dogmatic, anarchic approach that presents plural fronts. It derives its efficacy from its pluralism. Their counter proposal to the status quo is a legitimate critique of the current system of pyramidal distribution, embodying a collective paradigm for a society not preaching chiliastic change, but representing resistant hope for the present moment. Within the underground, the DIY philosophy keeps things going; beyond its borders it represents a philosophy for daily life important in a society where resources are inequitably circulated and the patronage system is strong. It empowers those with limited access to resources to balance the scales. It says that one

does not have to wait for a miracle from above, nor does one need to be satisfied by demagogic politicians and their “révolutions font en paroles.” Unlike *hoi musikouí* in Plato’s *The Republic*, whom if left to their own devices, Socrates argued, would undermine his utopia, these musicians are doing the work of the Brasiliense utopia.²²⁸ Their music is, as Felipe CDC reminded us, a place to dream. Dreams are the rays of light that uncloak the could-be and draw us to the horizon of absent, yet possible, alternative worlds.

“We Were Never So Brazilian”: Towards a New Subject

“Nunca Fomos Tão Brasileiros” (“We Were Never So Brazilian”)

By Plebe Rude²²⁹

Sou brasileiro, vocês dizem que sim.

I am Brazilian, so you say.

Mas as importações não deixam ser assim.

But the imports get in the way.

Pra que tudo isso na região Tupiniquim?

What’s the point of all this in the Tupiniquim²³⁰ region?

Nasci aqui, mas não só eu.

I was born here, but I’m not the only one.

Vocês estão neste barco também . . . também . . .

You’re in the same boat, too . . .

. . .

²²⁸ See Book III of *The Republic*. One could say that, as the socio-spatial homology shows, these musicians have effectively been kept outside of the utopian city, just as Socrates argued should happen. It is also interesting to note the parallel between the ultra-rationalism of both Socrates’ Republic and Brasília.

²²⁹ I have excerpted a section of the lyrics. The whole song can be found on the band’s website (www.pleberude.com.br) and here: <http://plebe-rude.lettras.terra.com.br/lettras/48165/>.

²³⁰ The name of an indigenous group, the word in general usage signifies Brazilian society, esp. where things of original Brazilian creation or recombination are concerned.

Não temos identidade própria.

We don't have our own identity.

Copiamos tudo em nossa volta.

We copy everything around us.

Nunca fomos tão brasileiros.

We were never so Brazilian.

What my research suggests is that: 1) rock has been a major constituting element in the formation of Brasília's identity; 2) it must enter in to the catalog of Brazilian musical styles alongside the national style samba and regional styles like maracatu; and 3) it has provided a possibility for self-representation different and complementary to traditional Brazilian subjectivities, that of the *integrated individual*, such that the narrative of Brazilian identity ought to be expanded to include this subject position. Over the last 30 years anthropologist Roberto DaMatta has had particular impact on the subject of Brazilian identity. I shall discuss briefly what I consider to be his most well developed work on the issue of *brasilidade* as context for my suggestion of a new subject position.

In *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes: An Interpretation of the Brazilian Dilemma* (1991) he interprets Brazilian society and the Brazilian character. He foregrounds ritual as a privileged topos of cohesive social behavior where society's values are both reaffirmed and modified, though his emphasis is on the former. He takes a structuralist approach in that, like Claude Lévi-Strauss and Louis Dumont, he believes systems can be understood by identifying the internal logic of their component parts, while seeming to eschew the functionalist paradigm, whereby rituals and other elements of social interaction are seen as responses to concrete factors and as having direct, homological

relationships to them.

DaMatta lays out the heuristic of “facts of consciousness,” factors “which serve to legitimate, mark, and define . . . positions, identities and behavior.” He proceeds to distill them to their “most basic implications”—pervasive attitudes, organizational systems, norms of behavior, etc.—which reveal the elemental-level structure of society (DaMatta 1991: 4). This approach enables the analysis of rituals of both the standard type, such as carnivals and religious processions, and others of the type analyzed in performance studies, such as modes of interpersonal interaction. The arguments that the raw material for the everyday world is identical to that for the ritual world, and that all social action can be ritualized, are reminiscent of Erving Goffman and Victor Turner. Unlike Turner, or Edmund Leach, DaMatta does not distinguish among elucidative structural elements, labeling some as “rational,” others as “communicative,” others still as “magical.” Thus, the interrogative “*Você sabe com quem está falando?*” (“Do you know who(m) you’re talking to?”) can be subjected to the same analysis as, say, a military parade. Both are formative and resultant of social, political, economic, and cultural dynamics.

The central dilemma in Brazilian society, according to DaMatta, is that in Brazil everyone is theoretically equal before the law, yet in practice social hierarchies govern nearly every interpersonal encounter. When enacted in public situations these hierarchies ensure the uneven application of the law. People react differently to this fundamental hypocrisy, giving rise to the three figures that DaMatta observes: the *caxias*, who maintains or reinforces the system, the *malandro*, who plays with and inverts the system, and the *santo*, who neutralizes or renounces the system. These represent paradigms,

dynamic relationships with an incorporated Brazilian social structure; they are ways to cope with the inconsistent and unjust (when viewed from an egalitarian, but not, I would add, naturalized hierarchical, point of view) application of the law. Each is an attempt to negotiate a space of protection from the law. It is not clear whether DaMatta believes these characters were formed by the dilemma, or if they are pre-existing typologies.

The *caxias* is the upstanding citizen who seeks success through obeisance to the system. He respects the military as the legitimate authority of the state (the typology derives from the Duke of Caxias, a military figure who is today the patron of the Brazilian armed forces), and does not desire change, unless the state betrays his conservative values. He is associated with two others, seen as degrees or hues of the same character: the *quadrado* (or *Zé Mané*), or square, and the *otário*, or loser. The former works a normal “9-5” job and gets by in a colorless, predictable life. The latter most likely lacks the discipline/skills of the square and the force of character of the genuine *caxias*: with no resources to speak of, he survives by mooching (a mooche is a *pidão*). In popular Brasiliense culture, he is called *palha* (literally “straw”) for his weakness and proclivity to *xaropar* (insist unto irritation).

The *santo*, or saint, is a figure who renounces this world, and therefore neutralizes the power and authority of the state. He leaves, in spirit if not in body. Pioneers and hermits embody the same spirit.

The *malandro* is an inventive, cunning character who turns a potentially disadvantageous situation into one of personal gain. He accepts the rules, but subverts, or inverts, them to his benefit. He sees himself as a potential beneficiary of the rules, if only

he can maneuver around the aspects that disfavor him. His resource is the *jeitinho*, his personal “method,” which relies on his capacity to improvise, to ply his social connections to his advantage, or to outwit and stay one step ahead of the competition. The malandro is sometimes a hero, the little guy who sticks it to the man, the rascal who is friends with everybody and makes people laugh. He is also untrustworthy, as personal survival is his only care. In my experience, friends may use “malandro” as a term of endearment. When aimed at a corrupt politician, guilty of *malandragem* (the actions of a malandro), its positive connotations mostly evaporate. If one is on the receiving end of an act of malandragem, it may be called *fuleragem*, which has none of the romanticism of the former. The law may eventually catch up with a malandro, but his actions are in no way antisocial: they are, to the contrary, profoundly social.

DaMatta identifies three types of ritual in Brazilian society: rituals of inversion, such as carnivals, rituals of reinforcement, such as military parades, and rituals of neutralization, such as religious events. Each neatly corresponds to one of the above character typologies. Carnivals are where the malandro is celebrated. *Carnaval* is a ritual where for several short days, the world is turned on its head, the home gets turned inside out, and nobodies become somebodies. Samba, one of the most traditional of *carnaval* rhythms and song forms, eulogizes the malandro. Neither the caxias nor the santo is championed in song.

DaMatta subjects the phrase “*Você sabe com quem está falando?*” (“Do you know who(m) you’re talking to?”) to the same analytical formula. This interrogative may be used when a person in a bank is told they cannot open an account, or a police officer

makes a move to apprehend someone (recall the story of Renato Russo's near arrest in Chapter 3, note 43). According to DaMatta, Brazilians do not easily admit to personal use of this interrogative, nor do they feel good about its usage in general. It is not, as he puts it, among the privileged aspects of social interaction used to construct one's self-image. Yet, it is an actualization of structural principles, most obviously class. It invokes both hierarchy and intimacy, in that it acknowledges a relationship between speaker and hearer. It can be used by anyone, regardless of social station (distinguishing it from a bureaucratic mechanism). It both reverses and reinforces power: it resorts to universally recognized and established power structures, thus reinforcing them; it may get someone out of an impersonal, vexing situation, such as having to wait in line with everybody else, thus reversing power. Given that in the Pilot Plan many people are connected to important figures, this interrogative has great potential currency.

The question exposes the insufferableness of being an individual (*indivíduo*), someone lacking connections and, therefore, personhood. An individual is interpreted as being a nobody. People succeed in life by being persons, somebodies. The impersonal nature of laws, traffic regulations being quintessential, requires that people trump them whenever possible; otherwise they convert to nobodies. Those with social connections will use them to suspend the routine of everyday life and avoid being treated like everybody else, that is an individual without connections, the sorry state of being a nobody. No somebody ever wants to be a nobody—it would be an unjust deprivation of one's rights.

The people who have no connections, entirely without family or friends, are the

lowest of the low (*os fodidos*, “the screwed ones”). The tension between personhood and individuality vis-à-vis the law, between “somebodyhood” and “nobodyhood,” is ever present, for Brazilian society openly recognizes hierarchy. DaMatta shows how social space is divided into delimited zones where one is one or the other, or transitioning between the two. The somebody/nobody polarity relates homologously to the binary of the home and the street: the former is where one enjoys personhood, the latter where one suffers individuality. In life, one gradually leaves the home, moving from being a person to being an individual (graduation is one ritual where this transformation is most keenly felt), and one must somehow get back to being a person (through marriage, starting a family, landing a job with good internal relationships). Some people have social advantages—whatever their social class—such as connections through well-placed natal kin, and spend less time in nobodyhood. Friend groups, of which the rock underground represents one example, provide another arena for the creation of personhood.

Being an anonymous individual in Brazil is not valued at all. Heroes are figures who survive anonymity to win notoriety, thus becoming figures with social value. Through their own deeds they capture the public’s respect and become focal points for hopes, aspirations and motivations. The masses form a chain of “symbolic patronage” to these heroes (DaMatta 1991: 197).

Rock in Brasiliense Identity: The I in We

integrated: Combined into a whole; united; undivided. Also of a personality in which the component elements combine harmoniously.

individual: [One] distinguished from others by attributes of its own; marked by a peculiar and striking character.²³¹

Rock's translocality would seem to many to disqualify it from being a statement of local identity, but as we heard over and over from the interlocutors above, it is both Brasiliense and Brazilian to them. The subjectivity that it proclaims is thus a facet of Brasiliense (and Brazilian) identity. I term this subject the *integrated individual*.

As I read DaMatta's interpretation of Brazilian society, a given person risks unwilling transformation into object if social advantage is not safeguarded and exercised. Individuality is a state of isolation. In researching the rock underground I saw both a different kind of individuality and a different relationship between the individual and the group. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the rock scene, and the underground especially, represents a relatively egalitarian, voluntary organization, in contrast to ascribed groups like families and social class. The individual in the rock underground, as often is the case generally, is, on one hand, a piece of the whole and, as such, does not exist in isolation. On the other, s/he is a person differentiated from others by attributes peculiar to his/her character. Individuality is the possession of these characteristics, these idiosyncrasies. The individual's relationship to the underground is not one where individuality is willingly effaced, as in DaMatta's analysis, for integration; nor is it lost through integration. Integrability, in other words, is not predicated or dependent on the surrender of autonomy or independence, anathema to underground philosophy. Integration, in its turn, is the achieving by both the group and the individual

²³¹ *Oxford English Dictionary* on-line.

of integrality (i.e. wholeness, completeness); the individual experiences fulfillment of the participative desire, while the group guarantees its own existence, satisfying its ontological directive, as well as augmenting its potential (for action, growth, etc.).

The term *integrated individual* expresses both the integrative and individuating tendencies of a single social being, and it maintains intact, rather than seek to resolve, this intrinsic tension. The psychological sense of integration (“the combining of diverse parts into a complex whole; a complex state the parts of which are distinguishable; the harmonious combination of the different elements in a personality”) is an essential aspect of how, through integration, the individual feels valued, both as an individual *and* as a member of the group. The subject neither experiences identity with the collective, nor undergoes sublation into its unity. Absent the preservation of both valuations, the autonomous individual would neither submit to exercises of group solidarity, such as performing as per brodagem, nor tolerate the negative economy, both of which function on the promise of eventual reciprocity; some, in fact, do not submit, and leave the underground. The contemptuous epithet *traidores do movimento*, applied to those who renounce the underground in vile ways, signals collective consciousness of both the necessity for balance between valuations and the danger of disintegration due to lack of the same. Integrity, in the sense of soundness, of relationship between the individual and the group relies on the unbrokenness of belonging. The integrated individual is one who, in concert with his/her colleagues in the underground, successfully negotiates the challenges presented by these ununifiable and non-dialectical tendencies.

On the one hand, the individual as autonomous agent is championed in the DIY

philosophy. The “I” is also celebrated in the rock song, sometimes in the singular, other times in the plural, through personalized, subjective, and passionate readings of one’s insertion into collective life. Such affirmations make impossible the individual’s loss of personhood and relegation to nobodyhood. On the other hand, the underground binds individuals into a social body where each is a valued part (as long as one contributes with his/her *presence*). When a great number of one’s friends are in underground bands, when one plays with these bands, and when one has been in multiple bands with combinations of many of these same people, the underground may give people a sense of belonging to something larger, a society that provides another layer of protection from isolation and abject individuality. Individuals become somebodies not by guaranteeing and exercising social advantage, but by contributing to the group musically, or in other productive ways. They may even contribute to society outside of the underground, like the social activists featured in Chapter 5. One needs no social advantage at all to be a somebody in this sense. The “I” is revealed, rescued from alienation and invisibility, and emplaced through group action, constructing the integrated individual.

The concept of the integrated individual brings together one’s individuality with one’s connectedness. It emphasizes one’s capacity to remain a somebody, even while exercising autonomy.

Rock does not champion the malandro, as does samba. The santo is not a respected figure; the politicization characteristic of the underground causes many to condemn the santo as alienated and, in a way, as selfish as the malandro. The caxias is a suspect, even threatening personality, aligned, as he is, with the law. He, too, is

egocentric, using the law as protection for his own interests. Collectively, the rock underground encourages individual action, but does not approve of individualist interests, which come at the expense of the collective good. The collectivist orientation is observed in the emphasis on each person's doing his/her part; in the willingness of bands to play for free and the ethic of *brodagem*; in the functioning of *panelas*, which though exclusive to some degree, are in essence collectivist structures bearing fractal relationship to the underground as a whole; in the social activism of members of the underground; even in the *roda de pogo*, a dance that requires the participation of others, and where the safety and satisfaction of other dancers is minded.²³² The integrated individual is like a band member, a team player, or a character actor. The subject's individuality and agency are preserved in and through group affiliation and participation.

Lila Abu-Lughod argued that "sentiments can actually symbolize values and . . . expression of these sentiments by individuals contributes to representations of self" (1987: 34). She used the term *sentiment* rather than *emotion* or *affect* to "signal the literary or conventional nature" of the content of this mode of communication. Her research revealed a fundamental incongruence between ordinary and poetic discourse: while the former affirmed the pride and autonomy of chaste and honorable individuals, the latter expressed a weak, vulnerable self full of love and longing. Among the Awlad 'Ali, poetry serves as a "protective veil" (238) for the free, anti-structural expression of

²³² The underground is, of course, part of Brazilian society, and reproduces certain of its characteristic interpersonal relationships. Competition, envy, and resentment can also be observed. Some would pervert the collectivist ethic to deny or criticize others' success. A band that grew too large for the underground could be accused by some of abandoning its roots and vilified for *loss of character*. João Gordo, leader of Ratos de Porão, for example, has had aspersions cast on his legitimacy as punk icon for accepting a position as host on an MTV program.

that which defies official ideology even as it symbolizes the “ultimate value” of the Bedouin system: freedom (252).

In the rock underground one finds that while no “protective veil” is necessary, the emotions expressed suggest a divergence between the official DIY discourse and what could be called the discourse of “interpersonal yearning.” While the former preaches self-reliance, the latter, through narratives of discrimination, friendships, surrender, utopian ideals, and the need for reciprocity, reveals a desire for acceptance by the other, a need of one’s colleagues, and a recognition of fundamental interdependence. It would seem to compensate for a deficiency in, and thereby complement, the DIY discourse. The band structure, the value of brodagem, and the collective euphoria of the *roda de pogo* symbolize the synergy indispensable to the underground. I submit that such overt recognition of mutual need is related to the absence of the necessity of a “protective veil”: no one will be ostracized for expressing a sentiment of interdependency. Respect in good part issues from the fulfillment of one’s responsibility to the group, as Jeferson and Jôsefer’s comments about staying outside a show instantiate, and presupposes a recognition of interdependency. Instead, the individual who forsakes the collective, that is rejects the contract of interdependence, can incur opprobrium. It is as if to do so were tantamount not only to turning one’s back on individuals, but also to decrying the entire discourse of interpersonal yearning.

The subject position of the integrated individual embodies these two complementary discourses of the rock underground. It also embodies emplacement

beyond the underground in the wider, multivalent environment of Brasília and offers a critique of its project.

Modernism celebrates the heroic individual, the singular figure who joins genius and vision with charisma and indomitability. His destiny, even more than reward, is apotheosis in a novel, composition, monument, or work of visual art of his own making enshrined in that “seat of Muses,” the museum. In time he is mythologized as an avatar of the Power that Creates, and an ontological distance obtains between the hero and the masses. The hero, according to DaMatta’s characterization, survives anonymity to achieve greatness. Brasília, the triumph of modernism over man’s pre-rational nature, similarly extols Juscelino Kubitschek, Lucio Costa, and the centenarian Oscar Niemeyer, whose continuing “symbolic patronage” can be observed in what seem like weekly references in the media. Modernism is reactionary in that it divides society into masses and big men and alienates the former from participation in power, except to laud the latter.

Brasília concretized this polarization in the monumentalization of institutionalized power’s buildings, which underscore the message that the law is supreme. In Brazil the adage “for our friends, everything; for our enemies, the law”²³³ expresses the interpretation such a message may receive. Before the law, people without connections are transformed into individuals. In describing his design *A City of Towers* Le Corbusier wrote “the figures are terrifying, pitiless but magnificent” (1986: 56). Through their inhuman scale Brasiliense edifices emanate power *over* people. The distances one must

²³³ *Para os amigos, tudo; para os inimigos, a lei.*

traverse to arrive at their entrances can in themselves make one feel unwelcome. Co-presence, that is the presence of others like oneself, is rarefied by the sheer vastness of the open spaces, and the feeling that you are being watched is unmistakable. All of this threatens to diminishes one's sense of belonging, one's personhood, and transform one into a nobody.

Rock's heteroglossic composition and expression, to which the open-ended proliferation of substyles and recombination of genres bear witness, run counter to modernism's disdain for pop, the monoglossic reading of meanings, and its separation of artist from audience. The most massified of music arts, rock turns the fortunes of the individual around. It opens a space for the valued but non-heroic subject, the integrated individual who is an agent of positive change, yet remains part of the collective. As much as it is a part of Brasília, rock critiques and compensates for the very project of the capital on the literal level of the show and the *roda de pogo*, with its human warmth of bodily contact, and the symbolic level of the lyrical celebration of the unexceptional subject. This common "I" is dependent neither on an external power structure nor social privilege to exercise its will and, contrary to postmodernist excoriation of rock, does not suffer evisceration through the energetic and emotional criticism of society. The social programs and political activism of rockers show that, even if cathartic, the music does not render musicians and fans passive or effete (as some postmodernist critics argue). Quite the opposite, it may help them make the most efficacious use of their transformative

potential.²³⁴ The underground rock event can be an experience of vital inklings of *There's more*; DIY rock can become an interventionist art that inspires critical cognitive reflection, as Bertolt Brecht envisioned²³⁵, and direct social and political action à la Brazilian actor/director Augusto Boal (1979), as the activities of Fellipe CDC, João Meia-Boca, and Gilmar Santos bear witness.

Brasília in Brazilian Identity: The We in Us

An expanded narrative of brasilidade is needed: an expression, a demonstration, a performance, an embodied retelling of identity that is not limited to the dominant narratives, those that have tended to emphasize the political, social, cultural, and economic experiences of living on the Rio-São Paulo axis. Popular discourse characterized Brazil as underdeveloped, without identity, a non-nation, an incomplete country (Oliveira 2005: 27). Brasília would, according to JK, the pro-Brasília press, and individuals and interests in its favor, bring about the millennial completion of the national project and put the country on a path for continued development, distributed geographically and throughout economic sectors, from heavy industry to services. If Brasília has helped consolidate the nation's identity, it is largely seen as a city without its own clearly articulated identity. The idea that Brasília's construction would have a consolidating effect on brasilidade suggests that *its* identity must figure into brasilidade,

²³⁴ Even apolitical rock, especially common in the years after the return to formal democracy, serves to sharpen the ironic edge and to carnivalize the world, thus allowing for continued critical and communal participation in society.

²³⁵ Though without sacrificing or de-emphasizing the emotional aspects of the audience experience, as he preferred. See Meisiek 2004. Following Small and Bateson, I believe emotional involvement in the musical event, on the part of both fans and performers, to be an intrinsic aspect of the process of cognition, meaning ascription, and consequential action.

including its heterogeneity, its inward and outward gaze, the unequal distribution of resources, the ideals and disappointments of its project, the insistence of some to make it a better place, and the cosmopolitan rock music that has given it a sense of tradition and connection with the wider world.

Writing about the topic of regional modes of expression, global language, and the Brasiliense experience, the celebrated author and columnist Moacyr Scliar, himself a *gaúcho* (i.e. a native of the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul) wrote:

Here is my plea to the writers of the federal capital: write, yes, about Brasília.

Translate, in your fiction, this unprecedented experience [alt. “experiment”]. This is important, because Brasília is, in a certain way, the synthesis of our country (and Brasiliense must be the closest thing to a national language). . . . It’s part of our people’s process of self-knowing. It’s as if we were, once again and this time for real, discovering Brazil.²³⁶ (Scliar 2005).

Le Corbusier, Costa, and Niemeyer wanted to be authors of a new society, but the text has ended up post-structuralist: the readers have become authors, the inhabitants have made it what it is, overcoming the cognitive and aesthetic estrangement of a design without Brazilian precedent, and remade it in their own image. Rockers in the utopian underground of *integrated individuals*, this city’s “dark matter,” have played a key role in making the place called Brasília what it is.

²³⁶ “Aqui vai meu pedido aos escritores da capital federal: escrevam, sim, sobre Brasília. Traduzam, na ficção de vocês, essa experiência inédita. Ela é importante porque Brasília é, de certo modo, a síntese de nosso país (e o brasiliense deve ser a coisa mais próxima a um idioma nacional). . . . Isso faz parte do processo de autoconhecimento de nossa gente. É como se estivéssemos, de novo e agora para valer, descobrindo o Brasil.”

Epilogue

In some way, we are all dark matter. Coincidentally, the first galaxy entirely of dark matter was detected in early 2005 at about the time I first came to know the rock community, the majority of the people introduced in this dissertation, and see the scene in this way.²³⁷ VIRGOHI21, as it is called, was observed using radio telescopes trained on one of the clusters that Fritz Zwicky studied 75 years ago. I hope with this dissertation and the publications that arise from it to do for the Brasiliense underground, and the city's rockers more generally, what astronomers and astrophysicists do for the dark matter of the universe: make it more visible.

Our universe is expanding, as seen in the red shift of all distant stars. Likewise, the rock universe in Brasília is expanding—there are many more bands today than there were 20 years ago. This weaving together of astronomy and music ends on a final, hopeful (for me, anyway) cadence: A supernova is the only process that has enough energy to make the heavy elements, so any gold or silver you might be wearing, your teeth and bones, and the hemoglobin oxygenating your body were made in the flash of a stellar explosion eons ago.

We are, us all, star dust.

²³⁷ Particle Physics and Astronomy Research Council. 2005. "Seeing the invisible - first dark galaxy discovered?" http://www.pparc.ac.uk/Nw/dark_galaxy.asp. 23 February. [Accessed 19 June 2007]. See also http://www.nasa.gov/vision/universe/starsgalaxies/dark_matter_proven.html for other "sightings."

Appendix 1: Musical Examples (on accompanying CD and at <http://tinyurl.com/ywe6j2>)

#	Title	Album	Band	Style
1	9' (Nove Minutos)	<i>Síndrome de Emputecimento</i>	ARD	Hardcore
2	Midnight and ten	<i>A Bomb Raid Into Your Mind</i>	Besthöven	“Disbeat Crust Horrorcore”*
3	Everbreathe	<i>Everbreathe</i>	Deceivers	Metalcore
4	Focos de Resistência	untitled demo	Etno	Nü metal
5	Robaro meu rim!	<i>3 em 1</i>	Galinha Preta	Grindcore
6	Stuck	from forthcoming 2nd CD	Khallice	Progressive Metal
7	Laboratories in Flames	<i>The Chain</i>	xLinha de Frentex	“Vegan Straight Edge” Hardcore
8	Esquenta Banha	<i>Bonitos, ricos, sortudos e bons de briga</i>	Macakongs 2099	Hardcore
9	Escritores	<i>Peixa</i>	Peixa	Alternative rock
10	Se Bastasse	<i>Grandes Manchas</i>	Pœna	Metalcore
11	Pseudo Progresso	<i>Terra Torta</i>	Quebraqueixo	Hardcore
12	Vísceras, ruínas	<i>Não caia de amores pelo poder</i>	<silente>	Hardcore
13	Antes agora	unreleased split with Besthöven	Terror Revolucionário	Crustcore
14	Renunciation	<i>Petreaan Self</i>	Valhalla	Death Metal
15	Lethal Injection	<i>Chemical Assault</i>	Violator	Thrash Metal
16	Fuck the USA	<i>Síndrome de Emputecimento</i>	ARD	Crossover/thrashcore
17	Fuck the USA/Foda-se Brasil!	<i>Fuck the USA/Foda-se Brasil!</i>	X-GRANITO	Punk/Hardcore “X-core”

* The “dis” prefix indicates the influence of the band Discharge (see p. 112 of the text).

The songs above were chosen to reflect stylistic diversity, as well as to provide a musical “voice” for the musicians who spoke in the text and whose bands I mention. The above tracks, with the exception of #8, will give the listener an idea of the main kinds of music being made in the underground in Brasília today. The label “hardcore” is applied to bands who sound at times very different from one another, as these selections show. Peixa, the band of track #8, does not belong to the underground, as its music fits stylistically into mainstream rock, but I worked with them quite extensively. The styles apply as much to the particular song as to the band; they come from the bands’ own denominations of their work. The punctuation and spelling, too, are the bands’.

U.S.A.

The Exploited

♩ = 137

Cymbals

Snare

Toms

Bass Drum

fff

9

Cymbals

Snare

Toms

Bass Drum

Guitar

Bass Guitar

21 $\text{♩} = 288$

Cymbals

Snare
Toms

Bass
Drum

Guitar

Bass
Guitar

29

Detailed description of the musical score: The score is written for a five-piece ensemble. The top staff is for Cymbals, showing a mix of sustained and accented notes. The second staff combines Snare and Toms, with a complex, syncopated rhythmic pattern. The third staff is for Bass Drum, featuring a steady eighth-note pulse. The fourth staff is for Guitar, with a melodic line that includes a key signature change to one sharp (F#) in measure 25. The bottom staff is for Bass Guitar, providing a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 288. The score is divided into two systems, with measures 21-28 in the first system and measures 29-36 in the second system.

37

Cymbals

Snare

Bass

Drum

Guitar

Bass

Guitar

Vocals

There really's nothing nice about U S A
The dollar's the language that they all speak

43

Cymbals

Snare

Bass

Drum

Guitar

Bass

Guitar

Vocals

You go to hospital you got to pay
They don't really bother about#the radia - tion leak

Fuck the U.S.A.

ARD

♩ = 170

fff

7

Guitar

Cym.

S.Dr.

B. Dr.

Gtr.

Bass

13

Cym.

S.Dr.

B. Dr.

Gtr.

Bass

20

Cym.

S.Dr.

B. Dr.

Gtr.

Bass

25 ♩ = 160

Cym.

S.Dr.

B. Dr.

Gtr.

Bass

The musical score for measures 25-32 is written for five instruments: Cym., S.Dr., B. Dr., Gtr., and Bass. The tempo is marked as 160 beats per minute. The Gtr. part features a melodic line with a long sustain and a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Bass part features a steady eighth-note pattern. The S.Dr. and B. Dr. parts feature a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Cym. part features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.

33

Cym.

S.Dr.

B. Dr.

Gtr.

Bass

Vocals

Fe-

41

Cym.

S.Dr.

B. Dr.

Gtr.

Bass

Vocals

ri-dos no or-gu-lho vao pi - rar

'no - centes ma-ssa-cra-dos dos dois lados

qual'o

49

Cym.

S.Dr.

B. Dr.

Gtr.

Bass

Vocals

pre-co du-ma gue-rra pra ci - vis

man - dar no mun do'e so-nho de'i - mbe - cis

Detailed description: The musical score is for measures 49 through 54. It is written in B-flat major (two flats) and 8/8 time. The Cym. (Cymbal) and S.Dr. (Snare Drum) parts have a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The B. Dr. (Bass Drum) part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Gtr. (Guitar) part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes with accents. The Bass part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Vocals part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes with lyrics in Portuguese. The lyrics are: 'pre-co du-ma gue-rra pra ci - vis' and 'man - dar no mun do'e so-nho de'i - mbe - cis'.

Appendix 3: Photographs



Photo 10: Sign showing how to get to the Pilot Plan.



Photo 11: Lochness Rehearsal Studio in North Wing.



Photo 12: Pœna's Ludmila Gaudad, Rafael Maranhão, and Carolina Diniz.



Photo 13: Three youths headbanging in unison at a Pœna show in Gama.



Photo 14: Pœna rehearsing at Madrugá. L to R: Filipones, Marcelo Farias, Ludmila Gaudad, Rafael Maranhão, Carolina Diniz. Off-screen: Clarissa Carvalho.



Photo 15 : From L to R: ARD's Rafael Ciampi, Maurício GB, Gilmar Santos, Juliano "Bin-Bin Laden" Lopes, Vander Batista.



Photo 16: ARD performing at Fubá's Bar in São Paulo.



Photo 17: Galinha Preta in Riacho Fundo. Left to right: Hudson (guitar), Japonês (guitar), Frango Kaos (vocals), Beavis (bass). Photographer unknown.



Photo 18: Bosco of Detrito Federal.



Photo 19: Outside the ICP in Taguatinga's "L North" neighborhood.

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